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'THE 1902 EDUCATION ACT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS:
A STUDY OF A COMMUNITY'S EFFORTS TO GAIN AND TO
PRESERVE DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION IN ITS SCHOOLS.'

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VOLUME ONE

The Thesis is dedicated, with respect and gratitude,
to the memory of Dr. Marjorie Cruickshank, Ph.D., M.A.,
Reader in Education at the University of Keele, who
was my Tutor from 1978 to 1983, and who died on 27th.
December, 1983, before the Thesis was presented.

ABSTRACT.

By 1902, a quarter of a million children were attending Catholic elementary schools in England and Wales. The thesis suggests that the initial impetus for the founding of these schools was the desire of the Catholic immigrant community to manifest its identity in an alien and hostile environment. The presence of the Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament at Westminster encouraged the Catholic community by defending its schools whenever education issues were raised.

The Cross Commission, 1885 - 1888, established to examine the working of the Education Acts, emphasised the inevitability of the demise of the voluntary school system, unless it was assisted financially to compete with the board schools. The use of the Catholic vote to safeguard the schools became an issue in specific election campaigns.

When the Liberal/Nonconformist Government was returned in 1905, the settlement achieved in 1902 became an immediate target for amendment legislation. Efforts made in 1906 and 1908 to introduce changes on a national scale were unsuccessful. When the outbreak of war in 1914 halted legislation on purely domestic issues, the prospect for the success of even a modest measure, confined to single-school areas, had become remote.

The difficult role of the Irish Nationalists, anxious to persuade the Liberal Government to introduce a Home Rule for Ireland Bill, and, at the same time, to preserve the advantages of the 1902 settlement for the Catholic schools, is examined in some detail.

Finally, the problem of the education of the Catholic teachers to staff the Catholic elementary schools when there were very limited opportunities for Catholic children to attend recognised Catholic secondary schools are examined. The fact that, by 1914, alone of the voluntary schools, the population of the Catholic elementary schools was still increasing in size, yet there was an adequate supply of qualified Catholic teachers to staff the schools, suggests that the problem had been solved successfully.

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ERRATA.

P.49. Fn.2. Omit 'attended the same school.' Mr. Gladstone was at school at Eton, Cardinal Manning at Harrow.

P.82. Fn.5. Line 2 should read, 'there were no board schools at the time....'

P. 107. Fn.5. Line 2 should read, 'during most of its existence.'
T.P. O'Connor represented the constituency from 1885 until 1929.
David Logan was the Member from 1929 until 1964. The constituency was merged with Liverpool (Exchange) constituency in 1974.

P. 158. Fn.4 and P.287. Fn.1. The Hon. Charles Russell (1863-1928) was the second son of Lord Russell of Killowen (1832 - 1900). Lord Russell, who became Lord Chief Justice, had been Liberal M.P. for Dundalk (1880 - 1885) and for South Hackney (1885, 1886 - 1892).

P. 272. Fn.(3) The Tablet, 23rd. February, 1907, p. 310.
Fn.(4) The Tablet, 2nd. February, 1907, p. 191.

P. 299. Line 15 should read, 'There would be no objection to a Clause.....'

P. 423. Line 5 should read, 'Such Centres are listed on p. 425.'

John Cashman. January, 1986.

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INTRODUCTION.

In 1965, two American sociologists, C.Y. Glock and R. Stark, published their research findings on the place of religion in society.(1) They suggested that 'religion functions to compensate persons for deprivations for which direct means of resolution are not available.... the vulnerability of the deprived to ideologies reflects their deprivation...Latent resentment against society tends to be expressed in an ideology which rejects and radically devalues the society.'

The idea was not an entirely new one. Over a century before, Marx had described religion as 'the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world...the opium of the people.'(2) In more recent times, several examples have occurred to show how deprived groups have rallied to a religious cause. Such examples would include the crusade of the followers of the Rev. John Chilambwe in Nyasaland before the 1914 war; the growth of the Rastafarian sect in Jamaica since 1930; the growth of the Pentecostal movement in Chile and Brazil during the present century.(3) Hill has traced the rapid growth of the membership of the New Testament Church of God, a West Indian sect, to the worsening of race relations in this country.(4)

This thesis suggests that the struggle to establish and defend the Catholic elementary schools in this country before 1902 was a manifestation of a similar trend of behaviour on the part of the 'new' Catholics who came as immigrants from Ireland in the 19th. century. The connection with elementary education was purely fortuitous. At the time of the immigration, successive Governments in this country were encouraging the establishment of elementary schools 'to gentle the masses' by giving grants to the religious 'societies' engaged in the work of education.(5)

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- (1) Glock, C.Y. and Stark, R.: 'Religion and Society in Tension' New York, 1965. The extracts are from: Thompson, K. and Tunstall, J. : 'Sociological Perspectives' London. 1971. pp. 398 - 9.
 - (2) Marx, K. and Engels, F.: 'On Religion' (1844) Moscow Foreign Press Edition, 1955, pp.41 - 42.
 - (3) See Damboriena, P.: 'Protestantism in Latin America' Sao Paulo, 1963. V.2. p. 16. The number of Protestants in Brazil increased from 143,000 in 1890 to over 4,000,000 in 1961. In Chile, the increase was from 6,200 in 1916 to 834,000 in 1961.
 - (4) Hill, Clifford: 'Pentecostal Growth: Result of Racism?' in 'Race Today' V.3, No. 6, June, 1971, pp. 187 -90.
 - (5) The Catholic Poor School Committee was founded in 1843 to claim such grants for the Catholic schools.

It was precisely at the lowest social levels at which elementary education was being encouraged that mutual hate and suspicion between the immigrant Irish and their English neighbours were most marked. At these levels, the Catholics felt not only their economic deprivation, which was acute, but also the social deprivation because of their non-acceptance by their English neighbours. Their religion sustained them in their isolation. Whatever advantages the English neighbours enjoyed, possession of the Catholic Faith was not one of them. So it was that the 'school-chapel' served as school, church and social centre. It was the place where the immigrants could meet and share whatever remained of the culture they had left in Ireland.

In spite of all this, it was a sad fact of Catholic life that far too many of the immigrant Catholics showed little inclination to attend Mass regularly. Neither had they a tradition of sending their children to school regularly, either to the Catholic school or to any other kind of school.(1) Between 1780 and 1830, Catholic children in Ireland, if they attended any school, attended one of the schools established by the 'Kildare Place Society.'(2) This was possible because the Society's schools were absolutely undenominational, even to the extent that the text books used were produced by the Society so that no suggestion of biased teaching could be levelled at the schools. But in the alien atmosphere of the British industrial city before 1870, the only schools available were denominational schools. The Catholic 'school-chapel' assumed a new importance as a symbol of defiance, a sign that the Irish immigrants were different from their neighbours. It is significant that although so many Catholics ceased to practice their Faith when they came to Britain, few joined any other sect, and the children continued to attend the Catholic school. However, it does seem likely that immigrant Catholics who succeeded in progressing a little way up the social ladder, were less affected by the community spirit than less-fortunate fellow-Catholics. By 1900, there were

(1) See p. 392 *infra* for some details of school attendance in Ireland.

(2) See Moore, H.K.: 'An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education, being the History of the Society for the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Generally Known as the Kildare Place Society.' London. 1904. By 1830, over 130,000 children attended 1,621 of the Society's schools. During the O'Connell campaign for Catholic Emancipation, Catholic children were withdrawn from the Society's schools in 1823, after the formation of the Catholic Association. The Irish national education system was founded in 1831, during the Whig Ministry of Lord Grey.

almost as many children attending Catholic private schools as were attending the Catholic elementary schools.(1) Many of the Catholic private schools were convent schools for girls, and had boarding facilities attached. The wide range of fees charged at such schools suggests that the children of comparatively poor parents as well as those of better-off parents attended.(2) This suggestion is borne out by the fact that there were almost as many children attending the Catholic private schools known to the Board in 1900 as were attending the Catholic elementary schools. What is difficult to assess is the number of non-Catholic children attending the Catholic private schools. Since the numbers of boys and girls attending the Catholic elementary schools were equal, the presumption is that equal numbers of Catholic boys and girls were attending private schools. But, excluding the Catholic 'public' schools, which were solely for boys, the Catholic private schools seem to have been very largely for girls.(3)

Some consideration of the role of the Irish Nationalist movement in the struggle to preserve the schools is necessary, if only to emphasise the part played by the movement in fostering a sense of unity among the Irish Catholics. Most industrial areas had branches of the Irish National League, the political organisation agitating for Home Rule for Ireland. The Irish Members of Parliament had close ties with these branches, which provided sources of support for the canvassing of the Irish Catholic vote at election times. The Catholic clergy, also, welcomed the availability of such support in canvassing Parliamentary candidates on their views on the schools question. Since it was the Anglicans, 'the Conservative Party at prayer' who had most at stake in the denominational schools issue, and the Liberal Party who held out hope of a Home Rule Bill, election times saw bitter debates between

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- (1) There were 239,369 children attending Catholic private schools known to the Board of Education in 1900, comprising 43% of the average attendance. (P.R.O. File Ed.24/14, Memo. 20. 1st. Oct. 1901.) The Board's Annual Report for 1900 -01 gives the figure for children attending Catholic elementary schools as 255,124.
 - (2) Advertisements in the Catholic Directory quote fees ranging from £15 p.a. at a boarding school at Rugby to £60 p.a. at a boarding school at Bournemouth.
 - (3) Advertisements in the Catholic Directory for girls' schools outnumber schools for boys by about 10 to 1. It would be a reasonable assumption to make that when the Religious Orders of nuns were prohibited from teaching in France, they came to this country and opened schools for economic reasons as well as for educational reasons. Such schools would be for girls and very young boys, possibly up to the age of 11 years.

groups advocating support for the Conservatives and the denominational schools, and groups favouring the Liberals and Home Rule for Ireland.

The passing of the 1902 Education Act was indeed a landmark in the history of the denominational schools. Once the school building had been provided, the provisions of the Act relieved the denominations of all the day-to-day expense of maintaining the schools. Teachers' salaries, the cost of books and equipment, the cost of cleaning, heating and lighting the buildings all ceased to be the responsibility of the denominations. The Local Authority even accepted responsibility for the greater proportion of the cost of maintaining the fabric of the school buildings.(1) In addition, the denomination appointed four of the six managers of a school, so that the denomination was assured of control of the appointment of teachers. It is easy to understand why the opponents of the principle of voluntary schools were convinced that the Act had given away far too much, and why they were determined to redress the position at the earliest opportunity. But, so far as the Catholics were concerned, the implementing of the Act meant that their schools and their training colleges, which had for so long been existing on shoe-string budgets, now enjoyed financial equality with municipal and council establishments. For the decade after 1902, the struggle would be to defend the benefits conferred under the Act against the attacks of the opponents of the voluntary schools.

Oddly enough, although the Act also encouraged the setting-up of recognised secondary schools, the effort made by the Catholic community in this area bore no resemblance to the effort which had been made to establish the elementary schools during the 19th. century. By 1912, there were no recognised Catholic secondary schools in Wales, 2,091 boys attended such schools in England, almost entirely in Lancashire and the London area. In contrast to the national position, over twice as many girls as boys (4,760/2,091) attended the recognised Catholic secondary schools for girls in 1912, an indication of the work of the religious Orders. However, it could well have been that the Catholic parents who aspired to secondary education for their children were quite willing to send them to the non-denominational municipal secondary school.(2)

(1) But there were no building grants until the 'special agreement' grants were instituted in the 1950s.

(2) Figures from Cd.6338: Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales, 1910 - 1911. (The Anglican background of so many of the old Endowed Grammar Schools which were recognised as secondary schools after 1902 makes any comparison between the growth of Anglican and Catholic secondary schools very misleading.)

By the second half of the 19th. century, Catholics in England and Wales could be classed in two groups, old Catholics and new Catholics. Old Catholics were those whose families had kept the Catholic religion alive during the penal days. (They should not be confused with members of the 'old Catholic Church' which exists in parts of Europe at present (1983).) The old Catholics were scattered throughout the country, their numbers being greatest in Lancashire, parts of Yorkshire, Devon and Durham. The new Catholics consisted entirely of the families of Irish immigrant labourers who had come from Ireland to work on the canals and later on the railways which the Industrial Revolution had made necessary. Although there were some French and Italian Catholics coming to England during the century, their numbers were small, and, so far as the Catholic elementary schools were concerned, the language problems kept them out of the schools.

Both old and new Catholics were distrusted and disliked in the 19th. century. Gwynn attributes the distrust of the old Catholics to 'their persisting in the hope of a Stuart restoration, and giving active support to their discredited cause.' (1) When the Vicars - Apostolic, who had spiritual care of the country since the breach with Rome in the 16th. century, were replaced by the newly-restored Hierarchy in 1850, the first Archbishop of Westminster was Nicholas Wiseman, a Vicar-Apostolic, and a member of an old Catholic family. The Times did not exactly welcome the new Hierarchy with enthusiasm. The restoration was seen as a move to 'employ the renegades of our national Church' a jibe at the Anglicans who had joined the Catholic Church during the Oxford Movement. (2) It would 'restore a foreign usurpation over the consciences of men... and sow divisions in our political society.' (3) Even after a lapse of a further twenty-four years, Gladstone was to insist that the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility at the Vatican Council of 1870 meant that Catholics would now owe allegiance to the Pope rather than to the state in which they lived. (4)

(1) Gwynn, D.R.: '100 Years of Catholic Emancipation.' London, 1929. pp. 10 - 11.

(2) But neither Newman nor St. John ever became Bishops, although Newman was eventually named Cardinal.

(3) The Times, 29th. October, 1850.

(4) Gladstone, W.E.: 'The Vatican Decrees and their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: a Political Expostulation.' London. 1874.

Distrust and dislike of the new Catholics were based on far more practical considerations. Their English neighbours saw them as an influx of cheap and unskilled labour at a time when wages were low and unemployment prevalent in the areas in which the poverty of the newcomers compelled them to live.

THE SIZE OF THE CATHOLIC POPULATION.

Official statistics in an article by Evennett (1) suggest that in 1851 nearly 513,000 Irish-born persons were known to be living in the newly established Catholic Dioceses in England and Wales. This figure represented 2.68% of the population. On Sunday, 30th. March, 1851, 240,882 persons attended Mass in those Dioceses. In 1787, before the Irish immigration had seriously developed, a Papal Emissary had reported to the Vatican that there 33,685 communicant Catholics in England and Wales. However, since the list of areas in which the figures were compiled were all in the north of England, and the Isle of Man, they could well be inaccurate(2) For example, apart entirely from the question of the number of Catholics living in London, there were thriving Benedictine Missions in both Somerset and Wiltshire in the 18th. Century. The Benedictine Mission in Bath was particularly prosperous.(3) By 1790, there was a Catholic church and 'a poor school' established in Bristol 'at an expense of more than £1,000.'(4) It seems unlikely that the seminary and school established at Oscott, in 1794, 'in the parish of Handsworth, near Birmingham,' would have thrived as it did, if there had not been a Catholic population in the area. The relatively large concentration of Catholic families in Lancashire owed much to the old Catholics who had kept the religion there during the penal times. The Weld family gave a house at Clitheroe to the Jesuit community which was expelled from France in 1793. A few years later the community had established a school at nearby Stonyhurst. The Benedictine community expelled from France at the same time as the Jesuits was given a house at Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury, by the Smythe family. This community established the school at Downside, near Bath. Another Benedictine community was given Vernon Hall, near Liverpool, by the Beaumont family. Indeed, so strong was the Catholic influence in

(1) In Beck, G.A. (ed.) 'The English Catholics, 1850 - 1950' London, 1950. pp.48-50. There is a summary of the figures on pp.19 - 20.

(2) Bolton, C.A.: 'The Salford Diocese and its Catholic Past' Salford Diocesan Centenary Publication, 1950. p. 248.

(3) Williams, J.A. 'Benedictine Missions in Wiltshire in 17th. and 18th. Centuries.' Downside Review, Autumn, 1960; *ibid.* 'Catholicism in Bath' Catholic Record Society, 65,66.(1975, 1976)

(4) Oliver, G.: Recollections Illustrative of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucester London, 1857. p.110.

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Lancashire in the 1859 general election that the success of the Tories was attributed to the influence of the Catholic priests.(1)

Away from Lancashire, the Catholic community lacked the strength it had in the north. McCleod (2) quotes the example of the list of names of the members of the Confraternity of the Holy Family at St. Anne's, Spitalfields, who had joined between 1858 and 1860. In a sample of one hundred, eighty-seven had been born in Ireland, two in Germany and only eleven in England. Their dates of birth ranged from 1788 to 1844. The details illustrate the lack of old Catholics in the area.

Gilbert (3) gives his estimates of the numbers of Catholics in England in 1780 and 1840 as 69,376 in 1780 and 700,000 in 1840. Of these, he estimates that 37,200 regularly attended Mass in 1780 and 371,500 in 1840. He was able to trace 469 Catholic churches and chapels open in 1840. He bases his estimates of the numbers attending Mass on the assumption that 'the ratio between the two (i.e. the number of Catholics and the number attending Mass) has been consistently what it was in 1961 - 1966.' The question must arise as to how accurate are the figures of the ratio of Catholics to Mass attenders in the 1961 - 1966 period. McCleod describes the 'many gradations of Catholic allegiance' to be found in the Victorian city.(4) There was a relatively small number whose lives centred around the Church. Others lived quite happily without a priest, but would not die without one. Others were Catholics in the sense that they were not Protestant.

Census returns give the following numbers of persons who lived in England but were born in Ireland:

1841	290,891	1851	519,959
1861	601,634	1871	566,540
1881	562,374	1891	458,315
1901	426,560		

Thus, by 1881, about 2.2% of the population of England and Wales were Irish-born, and presumably, Catholics, although to what extent they practised their religion is a matter of conjecture. Certainly, there

(1) Anon. 'The Liberal Party and the Catholics' London. 1874. p. 8.

(2) McCleod, H.: 'Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City' p.35;

(3) Gilbert, A.: 'Religion and Society in Industrial England' London. 1976. p.46.

(4) McCleod, H. op. cit. pp.34 - 35.

is a significant correlation between the number of Irish-born persons living in an area and the number of persons attending Mass in the area.(1)

O'Day suggests that if the estimate of two children per family was accepted, the 1881 census return would indicate a Catholic population of 1.25 to 1.5 million, but this would tell us nothing about the degree of devotion to the Church of this number.(2) The number of Irish-born persons in England and Wales declined in the years after 1861, but it is more than likely that the number of Catholics in the country continued to increase. Inglis(3) notes that after 1880, the numerical strength of Catholicism depended 'more and more on the loyalty of people born in England of Irish stock and less and less on people born in Ireland.'

In 1886, the British Weekly published the details of a survey the paper had carried out to discover the number of people in London who attended a church on Sundays.(4) 1,157,489 persons, about 28% of the population of the area, attended a church. Of these, 111,894 attended a Catholic church. Thus, about 10% of church attenders were Catholics. Whatever the population of Catholics was, it could be assumed that it would not amount to 10% of the population generally. Thus, it would seem that the proportion of the Catholic population attending church on that particular Sunday was greater than that of their neighbours.

Booth(5) estimated that in 1900 there were about 200,000 Catholics in the area of London which he surveyed. He based his estimate on a count of the number of children baptised in the Catholic churches in London. When Booth's team of interviewers spoke to Catholic priests about attendance in their churches, the replies suggested that attendance varied from area to area. In the Rotherhithe, Southwark and Walworth, Woolwich, Fulham, Somers Town and Bow areas, about 30% of known Catholics were believed to attend Mass. In Manchester Square and Little Albany Street areas, attendance could have been a little higher. In the Marylebone area and on the Isle of Dogs, attendance was believed to be about 20%.

(1) Details on p. 21.

(2) O'Day, A.: 'The English Face of Irish Nationalism' London. 1977. p. 109.

(3) Inglis, K.: 'The Churches and the Working Classes in England' p. 120

(4) The British Weekly, 5th. November, 1886.

(5) Booth, C.A. 'The Life and Labours of the People of London.' 17 volumes. London. 1902. v.7. p. 277.

Gilley suggests that about 25% of the Catholics living in London attended Mass regularly in the 1860s.(1)

McCleod quotes from a lecture given to Catholics in London in 1907 by Charles Russell:

'To say that only one non-Catholic out of six or seven goes to church may not surprise some, but to say that only one Catholic out of four goes to church without fail every Sunday in the year will astound many....It is said to have made the late Cardinal Vaughan weep.'(2)

McCleod considers that Russell was being over-optimistic. In his opinion, the number of Catholics attending church in any given week could have been as high as 20-30%, the proportion going to church without fail every Sunday must have been lower. Russell had based his estimate of the number of Catholics in London on the number of children attending the Catholic schools and the number withdrawn from religious instruction in the London County Council elementary schools. He arrived at an estimate of 352,000 Catholics, of whom, 74,000 attended Mass regularly. His figure for Mass attendance was based on the survey carried out by the Daily News in 1902-3.(3)

Any relationship between the number of parents who sent their children to the Catholic schools and the number who attended church regularly could be confusing. To return to Booth's research already quoted (4), the Catholic priests interviewed in Walworth said 30% of the parents attended Mass but 80% of the children attended Catholic schools. In Rotherhithe, there was a 30% Mass attendance but 95% of the children attended Catholic schools.(5) A Catholic priest from Fulham who was interviewed drew a careful distinction between 'respectable poor who attend to their religious duties' and the 'rough poor who are mostly costers.' These did not go to Mass, but sent their children to the Catholic schools.(6)

Booth had a very high opinion of the Catholic poor. He described them as 'a class apart.' They were devout and 'willing

(1) Gilley, S.: 'Evangelical and Catholic Missions to the Irish in London' Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge, 1971. pp.12-13.

(2) McCleod, H. op. cit. p.34.

(3) Ibid. p.34

(4) Booth, C.A. op. cit.

(5) Ibid. V.7. p.277.

(6) Ibid.

to contribute to the support of the schools something of their earnings.' They reminded Booth of 'primitive Methodists in their simplicity and freedom alike from intellectual subtleties, emotional excitement, or the undercurrents of superstition in connection with their Faith.' (1)

Booth stressed the extraordinary difficulties which the Catholic priests faced in London at the end of the 19th. century. He described them as 'the extremely scattered character of the Catholic population in most parts of London' 'the great size of the mission districts'...'It must be very difficult for the priests to keep in touch with their flocks.' (2) He records how one priest told him, 'The people are pauperised, materially and spiritually... they are dead to religion...they have recourse to the Church only at times of crisis.....they are Catholics if they are anything, but uninstructed.' (3) Booth rejected the suggestion that Catholics attended the church for what they could get out of it as being totally absurd. 'Even the poorest are expected to give.' (4) The Catholic priests lived as 'poor men among the poor...their food is simple...their clothes are threadbare...they live from day to day. If they have a shilling in their pocket, no one will ask in vain.' (5)

In spite of his obvious admiration for the Catholic priests he met in London, Booth distrusted them. He saw 'their leading characteristic as strength of authority, and, the inevitable result, weakness of individuality...such effects must follow when the human conscience is placed in the hands of the priest and each priest is a member of a highly organised and powerful hierarchy. The greater the religious success, the greater the risk of mischief. ...Most people in England regard the Catholic church as something foreign....we are not likely to become Catholic.' (6)

Booth makes one serious error in his statistics on the Catholic elementary schools in London. He gives the average attendance figure for 1900-01 as 57.6%. But this figure is meaningless.

(1) Booth, C.A. op. cit. V.7. pp.246-7.

(2) Ibid. p.248.

(3) Ibid. p.254.

(4) Ibid. p. 255.

(5) Ibid. p. 243.

(6) Ibid. pp. 252 - 253.

He calculates the average attendance as a percentage of the accommodation in the schools, instead of as a percentage of the numbers on the registers. In Catholic elementary schools nationally, the attendance figure was 81.5% of the children whose names were on the registers. (1)

Bishop Herbert Vaughan of the Salford Diocese (later Cardinal Vaughan and Cardinal Manning's successor at Westminster) had, in 1884, established a Board of Enquiry in his diocese to examine the extent of the 'leakage' from the Church, as the lapsing of Catholics was then called. The findings of the Board suggested that there were about 75,000 Catholics in Manchester and Salford, including some 10,000 children, although the Faith of some of the children was in danger because of the spiritual condition of their parents.(2) In 1890, Cardinal Manning had written to Bishop Vaughan:

'Eight-tenths of the Catholics in England are Irish; two-tenths, say 20,000 are English, but a large number of these are in sympathy with Ireland...(3)

Presumably, the Cardinal meant his figures to refer to London, not to England as a whole, since this would make them quite inaccurate. But as an estimate of the position in London, the Cardinal's figures could be accurate. Indeed, in 1893-4, when as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Vaughan carried out a survey of the Archdiocese. The results showed that there was a Catholic population of 130,817, although, on the basis of Catholic baptisms in the Archdiocese, the figure should have been almost 200,000. Of the 130,817 known Catholics, 24,262 did not attend Mass regularly, and 27,863 had not made their Easter Duties. The number of Catholics who had formally apostatised was not more than 670, the problem really being one of total apathy.(4)

In 1874, an article in the Jesuit magazine, The Month, suggested that no-one knew the exact number of Catholics in the country.(5) But most intelligent Catholics had begun to realise that the euphoria which followed the 'Second Spring' of Catholic revival earlier in the century, when there was talk of the whole of the country returning to the Catholic Faith, had evaporated.

(1) Booth, C.A. op. cit. V.17, p.223. Corrected figures from the Annual Report of the Committee of Council for Education, 1896 - 7, pp. 52 - 53.

(2) Snead-Cox, J.G.: The Life of Cardinal Vaughan, 2 vol. London, 1910. Vol. 1, pp. 403 - 8.

(3) The Manning Papers, Manning to Vaughan, 16th. May, 1890.

(4) Quoted in Pelling, H.: Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain. London. 1968. p. 33.

(5) The Month, March, 1874. p. 472.

But it was not until the 1880s that the reality of the situation was apparent. Very large numbers of Catholics were ceasing to practise their religion. In 1885, Edward Lucas estimated that since 1841 between 750,000 and one million Catholics had lapsed.(1) In 1887, James Britten wrote:

'Within the last two years, a remarkable change has come over Catholic opinion in this country. Until then, it was usual to presume that our progress was as satisfactory in spiritual as in temporal affairs... The overworked priests of the courts and alleys of our large towns, as well as the pastor of a handful of souls in remote country districts, knew only too well the other side of the picture held up for our admiration...'(2)

In 1894, Britten wrote of 'a family of three generations, numbering forty-seven in all; of these, only the original father and mother are faithful to their religion, which has been abandoned by the other five and forty.'(3)

Cardinal Manning believed that one way to maintain a link with a Catholic family was to encourage the children to attend a Catholic school. When he succeeded Cardinal Wiseman in 1865, he gave offence to many old Catholics by refusing to commence the building of the Westminster Cathedral as a memorial to Cardinal Wiseman. Although he purchased the site for the Cathedral, he used the balance of the £16,000 which had been collected to build the elementary schools. He asked, 'Could I leave 20,000 Catholic children without education, and drain my friends and my flock to pile up stones and bricks?'(4)

Various reasons were put forward for the ever-increasing numbers of Catholics who failed to practise their religion. In the Salford diocese, careless and indifferent Catholic parents, irreligious parents and marriages with non-Catholics were held to be among the serious causes of the increase.(5) Britten suggested that the habit of charging 'seat-rents' or 'bench-rents' in Catholic churches kept many poor Catholics away.(6) Another reason put forward was the habit of English people of going to church in

(1) The Month, July, 1885, pp. 310 - 311.

(2) Britten, J.: 'The Work of the Laity' in The Dublin Review, July, 1887, pp. 151 - 152.

(3) The Catholic Times, 30th. October, 1894.

(4) Purcell, E.S.: 'The Life of Cardinal Manning.' 2 vol. London, 1896. V.2, p.355.

(5) Oates, Austin: 'The Lost, Stolen and Strayed of Our Catholic Poor Children' The Dublin Review, January, 1887, pp. 157-176.

(6) Britten, J. op. cit. July, 1887, p. 152.

'Sunday best' clothes which made the poorer people ashamed to go in their ragged clothes.(1) Cardinal Manning believed that the greatest evil among the poor Catholics was excessive drinking. In 1872, he had founded the League of the Cross, a Catholic movement to encourage total abstinence. Although the movement had some initial success, it failed to have any long-term effect on the evil. It certainly did not endear the Cardinal to the London licencees! He always regretted that he had not started the movement twenty-five years earlier. He claimed that this would have saved the Faith of 100,000 Catholics in London alone.(2) Drunkenness among the Irish poor remained a cause of great anxiety to the Catholic clergy in England and Wales for many years.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE NEW CATHOLICS IN THE 19TH. CENTURY.

In 1883, The Tablet described the atmosphere in which the immigrant Irish tried to make a living in England as 'surcharged with moral poison...drunkenness, dishonesty, impurity surround them on every side, in the lanes and the alleys in which they are huddled together. Their lot is cast among those who jeer at their religion.'(3) It was widely believed that the wealthier members of the Catholic church had little interest in the fate of their less fortunate brethren. Edward Lucas wrote in 1885 that 'our work among the poor is trifling...the spirit of poverty is scarcely mentioned out of the pulpit...our chief aim seeming to be to rise in social position.'(4) 'The Catholic poor have neither money, clothes nor bread...they are the pariahs of society...the very poorest of the poor...In a strange and unfriendly country, everything is against them..they have to bear incredible hardships for their Church.'(5)

Irishmen were usually employed as casual day-labourers. This meant that they were engaged and paid by the day and had no security of employment beyond the end of the day. They were 'engaged in the rougher kinds of unskilled labour, the proportion of artisans and dealers being very small.'(6) The casual nature

(1) Rickaby, J.: 'The Great Clothes Question,' The Month, October, 1889. p.248.

(2) Quoted in Inglis, K.: 'The Churches and the Working Classes.' London. 1963. p. 127.

(3) The Tablet, 10th. February, 1883. p.201.

(4) Lucas, E.: 'The Conversion of England,' The Month. July, 1885. p.305.

(5) 'The Irish in England' in The Dublin Review December, 1856. p.470.

(6) Inglis, K. Op. Cit. p.193.

of the Irish labourer's work meant that families often moved from place to place, to wherever their labour was in demand. Thus it is not surprising to find that as the 19th. century drew to its close, the Irish communities tended to get smaller in numbers but were scattered over wider areas. Nevertheless, few Irish communities were to be found outside the manufacturing areas.(1) The Census of 1881 showed that out of every 1000 Irish-born persons in England and Wales, 378 lived in Lancashire, 176 in and around London, 101 in Yorkshire, 54 in Durham and 42 in Cheshire.

McCleod records that when the Catholic priests at Holy Trinity Church, Bermondsey, were shown a map of the area on which Booth had coloured in dark blue the places where people lived in extreme poverty, one of the priests said, 'It might have coloured dark blue to show our people...that's where they all are.' According to their priest, 80% of the Catholics worked in riverside occupations.(2)

Hopeless they may have been as reliable practising Catholics, but, strangely enough, very few of them became Protestants. It was noticed that they invariably showed respect to their priests. Mayhew described the great respect which the Catholics showed to their priests everywhere in London.(3) Oppenheimer, the City Missionary, noted how an old woman he visited refused his help, insisting that 'Father Kelley, bless his soul, is my priest.' (4)

There seems to have been some doubt as to the efforts which the Protestant societies made to convert destitute Catholic children. Dr. Barnardo once wrote to Cardinal Manning offering to hand over to him any Catholic children coming to Dr. Barnardo's Homes for shelter, if the Catholics would look after them.(5) Lady Elizabeth Talbot also denied that the workers of the various other denominations wanted Catholic girls and boys. 'They have enough to do looking after their own.'(6) But Austin Oates did not agree. He claimed that the results of the Salford Diocesan Census (1893-4) showed that there were 37 institutes in the Diocese which were

(1) Denvir, J.: 'The Irish in Britain,' London. 1892. p. 398.

(2) McCleod, H.: Op. Cit. p.96, Note 140.

(3) Mayhew, H. : 'London Labour and the London Poor,' London, 1867. V.1. p. 108.

(4) McCleod, H. Op. Cit. p. 97, Note 151.

(5) Clarke, R.F.: 'Our Waifs and Strays,' The Month, Feb. 1889, p.154.

(6) Talbot, Lady E.: 'Rescue Work' London. 1900. p.6.

proselytising. 254 children had been lost to the Faith through the efforts of such institutions. Similarly, it was stated that ragged schools, soup kitchens and city missionaries had claimed 576 children. The total known to be lost in one year (1893 - 4) was said to be 831. Oates insisted, 'Face this we must, unless we are prepared to be the accomplices of those now waging war against our children.'(1)

DIVISIONS BETWEEN OLD AND NEW CATHOLICS.

Cardinal Manning was very critical of the way in which many of the old Catholics, and even new Catholics who had succeeded in rising some way up the social scale, evaded what the Cardinal considered to be their duties to assist the new Catholics. For the greater part of his priestly life, he struggled to bridge an ever-widening gap between the two communities. The Cardinal's own background, the son of a Member of Parliament, educated at Harrow and Balliol, an Anglican clergyman who had become Archdeacon of Chichester, endowed him with a high talent for administration, and gave him access to the rich and aristocratic strata of Victorian society. Yet his sympathies were with the poor. He was 'a Cardinal of Cockneydom' as Shane Leslie once called him. Even when he was almost eighty years old, and in failing health, he took an active part in the negotiations to settle the London Dock strike in 1889, a course of conduct which did not meet with the approval of all of his Bishops.

Manning was at the same time frustrated and impatient with the old Catholics because of their lack of sympathy with their less fortunate fellow-Catholics. He saw, too, that there were Catholics who, as they advanced up the social scale, forgot the trials and difficulties of those they had left behind. Reckitt quotes the Cardinal as saying:

'What are our people doing? Oh, I forgot! They have no time. They are examining their consciences.... or praying for success in finding a really satisfactory maid.'(2)

Denvir described the Cardinal as 'a man of social position, an Englishman of Englishmen, with no drop of Irish blood in his veins,

(1) Oates, A.: 'The Lost, Strayed and Stolen of Our Catholic Poor Children.' The Dublin Review, January, 1887. pp. 157 - 176.

(2) Reckitt, M.: Faith and Society, London, 1932.

He would leave the Catholic noblemen at any time to go down to his Irish teetotallers in the East End of London.... '(1)

Perhaps the attitude of the old Catholics is understandable. Unlike the Anglicans, who carried out so much good work for the relief of the poor, the old Catholics could feel that they were in no way responsible for the social and economic degradation which had befallen the lower classes. The sense of social guilt which afflicted the Anglicans did not extend to the old Catholics. They too, had suffered at the hands of the English churchmen. They had seen their lands confiscated, their fine abbeys and churches looted and destroyed, their sons excluded from the colleges and universities which were rightly theirs. 'Like the masses, they, too, had suffered at the expense of English society. Was it their fault that England was two nations? Had there been a suffering proletariat when England was Catholic?' (2) The old Catholics educated their sons at Ampleforth, Stonyhurst and Downside, and their daughters at convent schools made exclusive by the fees charged. But, in the House of Lords, the Catholic Peers were known to be Catholic and always ready to champion any Catholic cause raised in Parliament. (3) But the gulf remained. McClelland (4) quotes the remark made by an English lady, Mrs. Charlton, who was a guest at the home of the Duke of Westminster. She described herself as 'an English Catholic, not an Irish one, which is all the difference in the world.'

These, then, were 'the Catholics' in the 19th. century. Whatever their feelings over regular Mass attendance and the practice of their Faith, the poorest of them were determined to make a fight for their parish elementary school. The only explanation for this zeal could be that the school was their symbol of defiance, an indication that they had not entirely fallen into English habits. It is certainly difficult to believe that they were motivated by any desire to have their children brought up in a Catholic atmosphere, since so few of the parents themselves attended church. Full-time and half-time attendance figures suggest that they had no real love of education anyway. But the schools were established and continued to exist in spite of the ever-increasing financial

(1) Quoted in Jackson, J.A.: 'The Irish in Britain' London. 1963. p. 143.

(2) Inglis, K.: 'The Churches and the Working Classes' London, 1963. p.137.

(3) In 1880, there were 35 Catholic Peers and 38 Catholic Baronets in the Lords. (The Catholic Directory, 1880)

(4) McClelland, V. 'Cardinal Manning: his Public Life and Influence' London. 1962. p162

burdens imposed upon them by the unfair competition of the rate-supported board schools. Catholic parents able to afford the fees could move their children to one of the numerous Catholic private schools. It was left to the poorest element to carry on the struggle to keep the parish elementary school in being. By 1880, after ten years of the unequal struggle, the Cardinal realised that the Catholic elementary schools were doomed, unless some curb could be placed on the spending of the board schools or the voluntary schools could receive a share of the rate-fund.(1) He knew it would be quite unfair to ask Catholic parents to condemn their children to an inferior education in the Catholic schools. This was the situation facing the Cardinal and his Bishops in 1880.

(1) See Diagrams 1 and 2. p.18. In spite of the voluntary contributions, the Catholic schools slipped further and further behind the board schools in the amounts of money spent on maintenance.

DIAGRAM 1 MAINTENANCE EXPENDITURE, PER CHILD IN AVERAGE ATTENDANCE, 1872-1900. BOARD SCHOOLS IN BLACK

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN RED.

FORSTER (1870) ESTIMATED THAT BY 1900 THE COST WOULD RISE TO 30 SHILLINGS PER CHILD PER ANNUM.

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL.

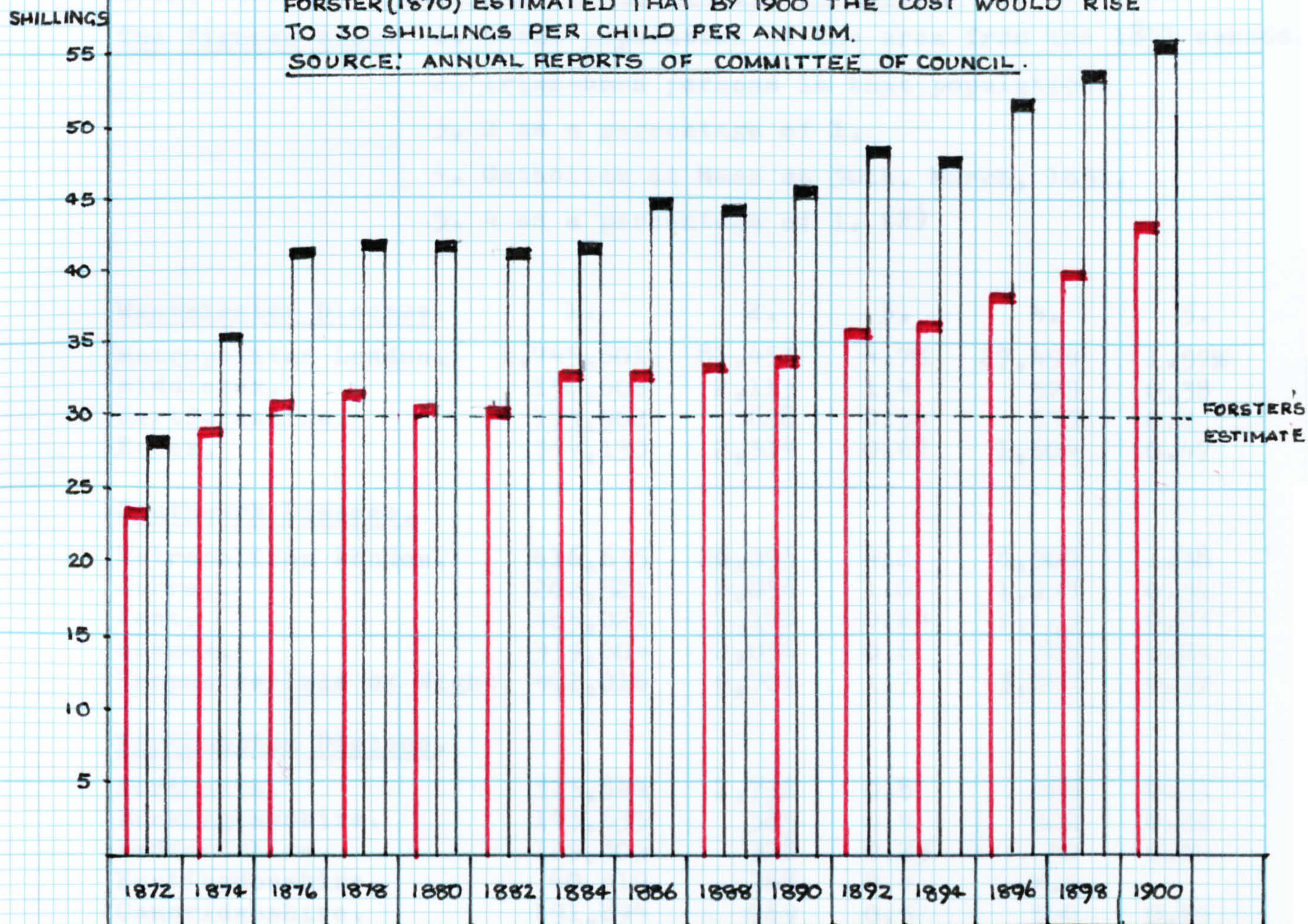
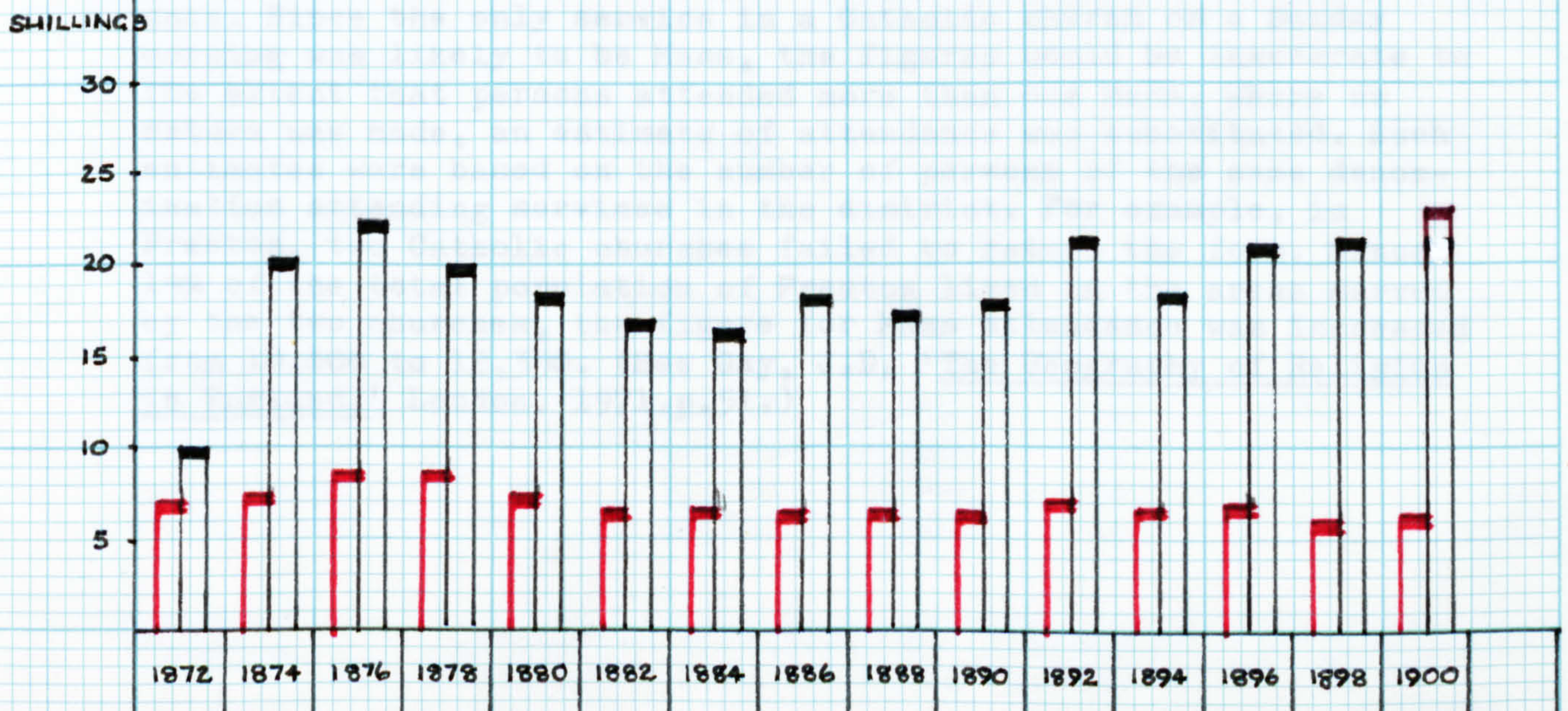


DIAGRAM 2 VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO CATHOLIC SCHOOLS (SHOWN IN RED) BOARD SCHOOLS' INCOME FROM SCHOOL RATE (SHOWN IN BLACK) 1872-1900, PER CHILD IN AVERAGE ATTENDANCE

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL.



THE IRISH INFLUENCE ON CATHOLICISM IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851.

SOURCE: Evennett, H.O.: 'The English Catholics in 1850' in
BECK, G.A.ed. : 'The English Catholics, 1850 - 1950' pp. 48 - 50.

The figures show: 1. Total population of the area from the 1851 census.
2. Irish-born persons in that population.
3. 2 as a percentage of 1.
4. Catholics at Mass on 30th. March, 1851.
5. 4 as a percentage of 1. (1)

<u>Westminster Diocese.</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Metropolitan London.	1,745,601	81,453	4.7%	27,494	1.57%
Middlesex.	150,606	2,113	1.4	575	0.38
Hertfordshire.	173,962	628	0.36	355	0.2
Essex.	344,130	2,314	0.67	1,604	0.47
<u>Southwark Diocese.</u>					
Metropolitan London.	616,635	26,095	4.2	8,500	1.38
Surrey.	202,521	2,056	1.0	1,033	0.51
Kent.	485,021	1,170	0.24	1,113	0.23
Sussex.	339,604	2,056	0.6	785	0.23
Hampshire/Isle of Wight.	402,016	6,701	1.7	3,082	0.77
<u>Northampton Diocese.</u>					
Northants.	313,844	1,738	0.8	665	0.31
Buckinghamshire.	143,655	385	0.4	322	0.22
Bedfordshire.	129,805	328	0.25	50	0.04
Huntingdonshire.	60,319	268	0.4	N.A.	
Cambridgeshire.	191,894	989	0.5	360	0.19
Norfolk.	433,716	1,082	0.25	1,321	0.3
Suffolk.	336,136	704	0.2	374	0.11

(1) The figures for the section in the 1851 Census which dealt with religion should be treated with some reserve. It was the first and last time that questions on religion were included in a census. The form was sent to the clergyman or pastor at every known place of worship. A return of the numbers attending each morning and evening service on Sunday, 30th. March, 1851, was asked for. Thus, persons attending more than one service would be counted more than once. Since the only service in a Catholic church on a Sunday morning was likely to be Mass, the figures would be inaccurate to the extent that persons attended more than one Mass. Where no return was made, an estimate of attendance was substituted. Such estimates were based on the number of persons of the same denomination attending services in the district. For example, in Preston, two Catholic churches failed to return the form. Since 14% of the total population of Preston lived in the areas served by the two churches, the figure for Mass attendance was increased from 10,806 to 12,350. (See Gay, J.D. 'The Geography of Religion in England.' London. 1971.p.51.)

<u>Nottingham Diocese.</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Nottinghamshire.	294,380	2,621	0.9	1,791	0.6
Derbyshire.	260,693	3,979	1.5	2,499	0.96
Leicestershire.	234,957	1,738	0.7	1,839	0.81
Rutland.	24,272	82	0.3	Not available.	
Lincolnshire.	400,236	2,344	0.6	1,596	0.34
<u>Birmingham Diocese.</u>					
Warwickshire.	480,120	11,894	2.5	7,889	1.64
Staffordshire.	630,545	15,855	2.5	8,765	1.39
Worcestershire.	258,733	2,084	0.8	3,029	1.17
Oxfordshire.	170,274	474	0.3	928	0.54
<u>Shrewsbury Diocese.</u>					
Shropshire.	244,898	2,757	1.1	469	0.19
Cheshire.	423,526	22,812	5.4	9,053	2.13
<u>Newport and Menevia.</u>					
Monmouth.	177,130	5,888	3.3	2,383	1.34
Hereford.	99,120	363	0.4	119	0.12
Glamorgan)		9,737		2,000	
Carmarthen.)		514		99	
Pembroke.)		703		150	
Brecon.)	607,456	674		191	
Radnor.)		90		N.A.	
Cardigan.)		279		N.A.	
<u>Clifton Diocese.</u>					
Gloucestershire.	419,514	6,563	1.6	3,541	0.84
Somerset.	456,259	2,222	2.2	1,321	0.29
Wiltshire.	240,966	709	0.3	995	0.41
<u>Plymouth Diocese.</u>					
Devon.	572,330	4,940	0.86	1,186	0.2
Dorset.	177,095	916	0.52	847	0.48
Cornwall.	356,641	1,541	0.43	459	0.13
<u>Liverpool Diocese.</u>					
Lancashire.	886,567	112,875	12.7	69,783	7.9
<u>Salford Diocese.</u>					
Lancashire.	1,180,834	79,635	6.7	33,029	2.8
<u>Beverley Diocese.</u>					
Yorkshire.	1,789,047	43,682	2.4	20,629	1.79
<u>Hexham Diocese.</u>					
Northumberland	303,568	12,666	4.2	5,564	1.83
Durham.	411,679	18,501	4.5	8,340	2.02
Cumberland.	195,492	9,866	5.0	2,739	1.40
Westmorland.	58,397	607	1.04	400	1.68

SUMMARY. Total population - 17,920,718. Irish-born - 512,858 (2.86%)
Number attending Mass - 240,882 (1.34%)

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERCENTAGE OF IRISH-BORN PERSONS IN
AN AREA AND THE PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS ATTENDING MASS IN THAT AREA.

Full details are available for 41 districts. Using these details, two rank orders were drawn up, one for the percentage of Catholics in the population who attended Mass on 30th. March, 1851, and one for the percentage of Irish-born persons in the population.

Using Spearman's Rank Order Correlation ($N = 41$) there was a positive correlation between the two sets of percentages of 0.77. From this, it would be reasonable to infer that over England and Wales as a whole, the bulk of persons attending Mass on 30th. March, 1851, were Irish - particularly since the figures take no account of the children of Irish-born parents who attended Mass also.

SECTION 1.

THE CROSS COMMISSION, 1885 - 1888.

The Catholics and the General Election of 1880.

Cardinal Manning and his many friends in the Anglican community knew that the Act of 1870 which had set up the school boards had never envisaged the destruction of the voluntary schools, an event which, by 1880, seemed to be a distinct possibility. The manner in which the school boards in London and in other large towns and cities were spending money in improving the education in their schools made it quite impossible for the voluntary schools, and the Catholic schools in particular, to match the standards of the board schools. At the very root of the problem was the fact that the scope of 'elementary education' had never been defined. The Cockerton case was still twenty years away. But the Cardinal and many who thought like him, were convinced that much of what was being taught in board schools, particularly under the terms of the Science and Art Department's Directory, was not elementary education. Not that the Cardinal was an opponent of higher standards in elementary education (1) but he was bitterly hostile to the system which compelled Catholic parents to pay their school pence so that their children could receive their elementary education in the Catholic atmosphere of a school which they themselves had paid for, although the school buildings were probably inferior, with Catholic teachers who were

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- (1) One indication of Cardinal Manning's desire for higher standards in the elementary schools is given in an entry in Virginia Crawford's Diary for 20th. June, 1891. The debate on the 1891 Education Act was in progress at the time and the Liberals were very anxious to amend the existing law by restricting the facilities available to employers to engage 'half-timers.' The entry reads, 'I asked the Cardinal if he was not very pleased at the Government's defeat in the House of Commons over Sidney Buxton's Amendment raising the age of half-timers in factories from 10 years to 11 years. He said, 'Yes. It is the best victory we have had for education for a long time. His whole face beamed with pleasure. He added that he had opened his paper the moment he came down to breakfast to see the result of the Division. 'I was so pleased, I could not eat my breakfast.' Leslie, S.: 'Virginia Crawford, Sir Charles Dilke and Cardinal Manning.' The Dublin Review Autumn, 1967, p. 195.

paid an inferior salary, when elementary education of a much higher standard was available in the local board school. The final injustice was that the Catholic elementary school was rated, and compelled to pay the school rate for the upkeep of the board schools.

By 1883, the grant earned, per child in average attendance, was, for the first time, higher in the board schools than in the voluntary schools. To the supporters of the voluntary schools, this came as no surprise. During the next twenty years, the gaps between the grants earned and the gaps between the amounts of money available for maintenance widened steadily for each child in average attendance in the board schools and the voluntary schools.(1) Unless the expenditure of the school boards could be controlled in some way, it seemed that this process would eventually destroy the voluntary schools. The Cardinal was faced with the question: was it possible to organise the Catholic voting power in the country in such a way as to bring about the amendment of the 1870 Act to protect the voluntary schools?

On the political scene, Disraeli's Conservative Government was in its last days in the Spring of 1880. The depression in agriculture, expenditure on the Afghan war and the Zulu wars, and a Party which had been too long in power(2) were all hastening the Government's fall. No-one denounced the Government more vigorously than the Catholic Peer, Lord Ripon. He was not an old Catholic, but a convert since 1874, and Chairman of the Catholic Poor School Committee.(3) When Gladstone's Government had fallen in 1874, Lord Ripon, a member of the Cabinet, had astonished his fellow Liberals by joining the Catholic Church. He remained a devout Catholic until his death over thirty years later. Not surprisingly, his fellow-Liberals considered his conduct to be tantamount to committing political suicide. The Times, no doubt with charitable intent, could only presume that 'his mind must have been fatally demoralized to have taken such a step.'(4)

(1) See Diagram I, p. 18

(2) Disraeli's Administration had been in power since 1874.

(3) Lord Ripon was born at 10, Downing Street in 1827, during the short period in which his father, Lord Goderich, had been Prime Minister.

(4) The Times, 5th. September, 1874.

Shortly after his conversion, Lord Ripon agreed to become Chairman of the Catholic Poor School Committee, and took up that office in 1877. Initially, it seemed to be a very fortunate appointment for the Committee. Ripon's experience in assisting Forster to draft the Act of 1870 was now at the service of the Catholic Hierarchy. But there were some Catholics who regarded Ripon's position as anomalous because of the ill-feeling which had grown up between the Catholic Church and the Liberal Party. Gladstone's pamphlet(1) on the Decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870, and the memory of the support which Garibaldi had received from the Liberals in his struggle for Italian unity, a struggle which had ended with the Pope a virtual prisoner in the Vatican, all contributed to this ill-feeling. Ripon's friendship with Thomas Allies, the secretary of the Poor School Committee, ensured that Ripon would take Allies's side in the dispute between Allies and the Hierarchy.

During the election campaign of 1880, Ripon worked hard to gain the Catholic vote for the Liberal cause. A Conservative victory at the polls would have been to the advantage of the voluntary schools; a Liberal victory would have made possible the introduction of a Home Rule for Ireland Bill. For the next twenty-five years, this issue of the future of the Catholic schools or Home Rule for Ireland was to divide the Catholic vote. In 1880, there were wild rumours abroad that the Cardinal had made a pact with the Conservatives to secure the Catholic vote for them. Ripon could find no hard evidence to support the rumour.(2) He told William Rathbone, the Liverpool shipping magnate, that he had it on 'impeachable grounds' that there was no truth in the rumour that the Cardinal was supporting the Conservatives. He even authorised Rathbone to publicise the statement if he so wished, in order to prevent the Conservatives from making any election capital out of the rumour.(3)

(1) 'The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: a Political Expostulation.' London. 1874. In the pamphlet, Gladstone cast doubt on the loyalty of Catholics to the country since they owed their first allegiance to the Pope

(2) Purcell, E.S.: The Life of Cardinal Manning, 2 Vol. London, 1896. Vol. 2, p. 524 - 5.
P.R.O. The Granville Papers, 18th. March, 1880. 'Manning is supposed to have made some terms with Dizzy.'

(3) The British Library: The Ripon Papers, Add.Mss. 43626. Ripon to Rathbone, 25th. March, 1880.
See also: 'Lord Ripon's Resumption of Political Activity,' by J.P. Rossi, Recusant History, Vol.11, 1971 - 72. pp. 68 - 9.

In Lancashire, the Old Catholic vote had gone to the Conservative Party since the Liberals had supported the United Italy movement. Sir Thomas Weld-Blundell, a member of an Old Catholic family, had made no secret of his fears of the Liberal Party. Monsignor Fisher, a member of the Poor School Committee and Chairman of the Governors of the Notre Dame Training College, wrote to Ripon to ask him if anything could be done to persuade Sir Thomas to support the Liberals, whose local candidate was Mr. Rathbone, 'since the Catholics have never had such friends as the Rathbone family.'(1) Ripon wrote to Rathbone, anxious to deny any suggestion that the Cardinal was behind the Catholic support for the Conservatives.

'I have every reason to believe that if it would be of any use to publish a statement that Cardinal Manning 'has made up his mind not to interfere, even indirectly, in the present election,' it might be safely done without fear of contradiction.'(2)

Ripon's assessment of Weld-Blundell's abandoning of the Liberal cause as 'the most fatal event in Roman Catholic history in England since the Reformation' should not be taken too seriously. But Catholics did find it difficult to understand how the Chairman of the Poor School Committee could campaign so vigorously for the Party determined to crush the voluntary schools. The Catholic peer, Lord Bury, in an open letter to Ripon,(3) asked him if his defence of the Liberals meant that Catholics should support Gladstone, 'the author of the pamphlet which had denounced Catholics and Catholicism, and had refused to withdraw so much as one word of his writing.' Lord Stonor, another Catholic peer who was a member of the Liberal Party, wrote to Ripon, 'There is no doubt that Gladstone is the cause of all the defections among the Catholics.'(4) Monsignor Fisher felt that fear over the schools was a main cause of the defections:

'The leaders of the Party, and especially Lord Hartington, should make a bold declaration that they will support the Education Bill and denominational education....We have spent an enormous amount of money in building schools, and it would be very hard if we had to support them without a Grant.'(5)

(1) British Library, The Ripon Papers, Add. Mss. 43626, Fisher to Ripon, 18th. March, 1880.

(2) Ibid. Ripon to Rathbone, 25th. March, 1880.

(3) The Tablet, 27th. March, 1880.

(4) British Library, The Ripon Papers, Add. Mss. 43626, Stonor to Ripon, 23rd. March, 1880.

(5) Ibid. Fisher to Ripon, 22nd. March, 1880.

Monsignor Fisher's anxiety must have impressed Ripon. He immediately wrote to Lord Hartington, asking him if it was possible for the Liberal leaders to make a statement which would reassure the Catholics on the future of their schools.(1) Hartington hesitated, weighing the possibility of Catholic support against 'getting up the backs of our Dissenters' as he put it.(2) Ripon himself had no fears for the future of the Catholic schools. He wrote to Sir Charles Dilke:

'I, who am Chairman of the Catholic Poor School Committee, the principal Catholic educational body, am perfectly convinced that the Catholics have nothing to fear for their educational interests from the establishment of a Liberal Government.'(3)

Lord Hartington could not understand the Catholics' anxiety:

'What is turning the Catholics against us? Is it their apprehension over disturbing the education settlement?.....If you will look at the report of my speech at Blackburn yesterday, I think it ought to help to reassure the Roman Catholics, if they are still open to conviction...'(4)

But the result of the election confirmed the Cardinal's worst fears. The Liberals, with 351 seats, had an absolute majority over the 239 Conservatives and the 62 Irish Nationalists. Lord Ripon's efforts for the Party were rewarded with the post of Viceroy of India.

The future of the Catholic schools now looked grim. Ripon could only advise Monsignor Fisher that 'the wise policy for the Catholics is to hold what they have got....to sit still, and nothing can change their position.'(5) But the Cardinal realised that this was exactly what the Catholic schools could not do. The Catholic schools were doomed if the unfair competition with the board schools and the inevitable decline in standards continued. The Tablet, too, warned Catholics that Gladstone was 'now ready to put his principles into practice/at the bidding of a bigoted majority.'(6) One thing was clear, however. There was a 'Catholic vote' in the country. In future elections, both Parties would have to take notice of it.

(1) P.R.O. File 30/29, The Granville Papers, Ripon to Granville, 23rd. March, 1880.

(2) British Library, The Ripon Papers.Add. Mss. 43565, Hartington to Ripon, 25th. March, 1880.

(3) Ibid. The Dilke Papers. Add.Mss. 43894. Ripon to Dilke, 27th. March, 1880.

(4) Ibid. The Ripon Papers. Add. Mss. Hartington to Ripon, 25th. March, 1880.

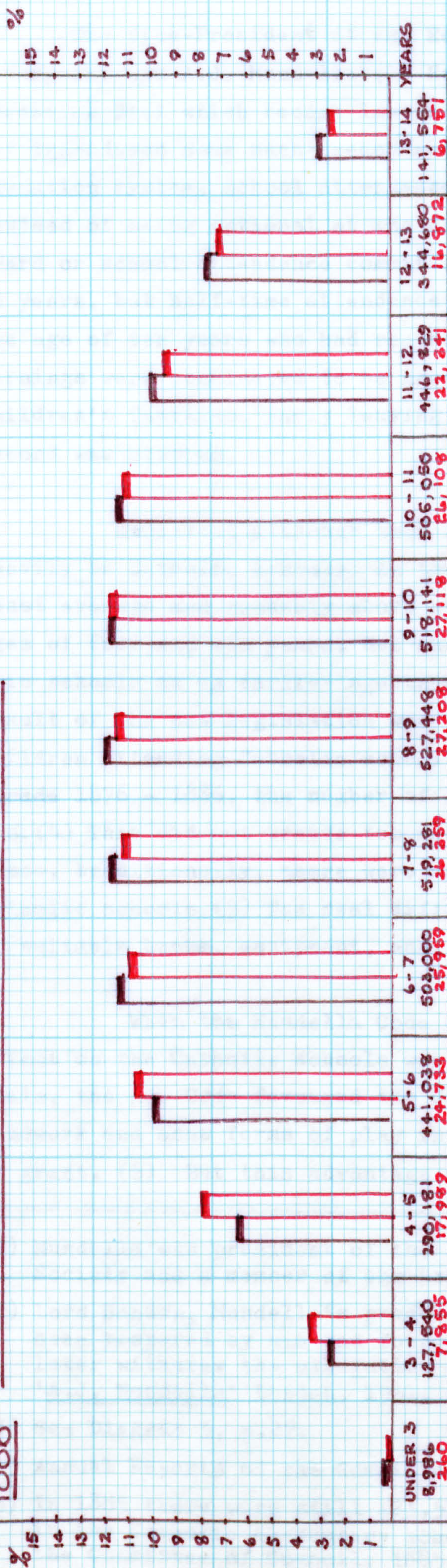
(5) Ibid. Add.Mss. 43626, Ripon to Fisher, 22nd. March, 1880.

(6) The Tablet, 3rd. April, 1880.

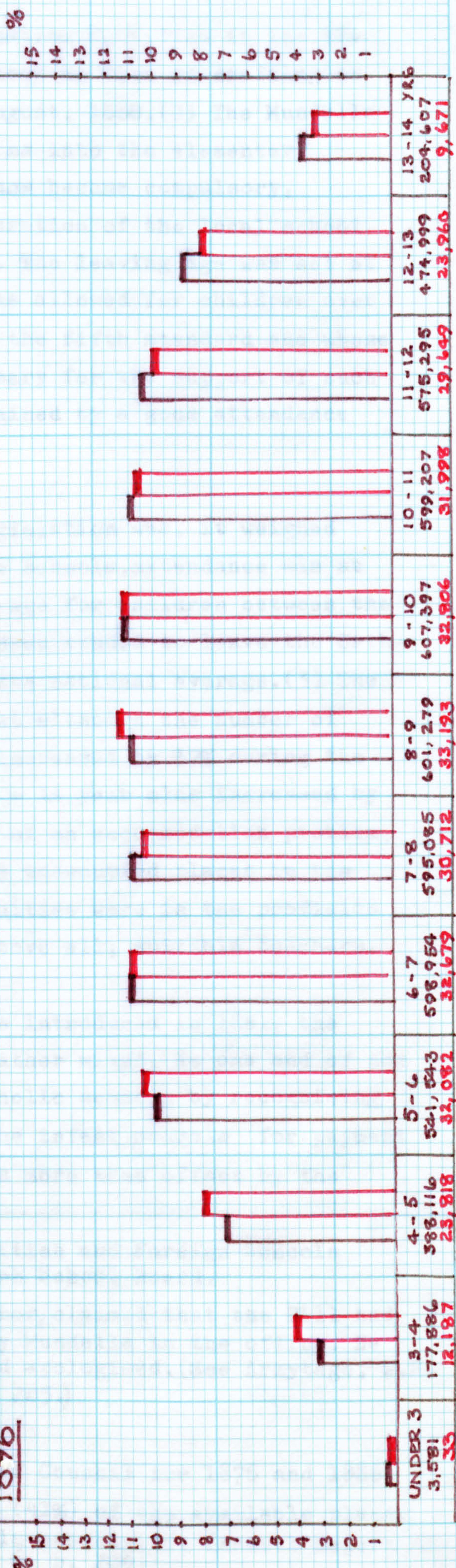
DIAGRAM 3. AGE-GROUPS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POPULATION, 1886 AND 1896. (NATIONAL FIGURES IN BLACK. CATHOLIC FIGURES IN RED)

1886

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL.



1896



The Vice-President of the Education Committee in the new Government was A.J. Mundella.(1) He lost no time in drafting an Education Bill which became law in August, 1880.(2) The Mundella Act introduced some much-needed reforms into the elementary education system. School attendance now became compulsory, instead of being optional at the discretion of the local school board or school attendance committee. The leaving age was set at 13 years, but half-time attendance was allowed for children over the age of ten years who had reached the fifth standard and whose earnings were considered to be necessary for the support of such children's families. Early leaving gained by a good attendance record was stopped.

Excellent although this legislation was, it weighed heavily on Catholic schools. In these schools, attendance was at least average and possibly above average for children between the ages of four and ten years. But children tended to leave the Catholic schools at an earlier age than the national average.(3) The result of the new legislation was that although the number of children attending Catholic schools increased by 37% during the decade 1876 - 1886, the number of 10 - 14 year olds increased by 62%.(4) This did not create too much of an accommodation problem, since, traditionally, there were many unoccupied places in the Catholic schools.(5) The real difficulties were in the provision of suitable books, equipment, and, above all, suitable teachers.

When the Mundella Code was introduced in 1881, the effect on the Catholic schools was rather mixed. At one end of the scale, the new Code favoured the Catholic schools by recognising handwork and some forms of play in the infant schools for payment of grant. (6) But this advantage was more than offset by the

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- (1) Mundella was president of the British and Foreign Schools Society and a member of the London School Board.
- (2) Lord Sandon, Mundella's predecessor, claimed that the Bill had been prepared by him and found by Mundella in the office. He later withdrew the allegation and apologised. (See Armytage, W.H. 'A.J. Mundella' London. 1951. p. 205.)
- (3) See Diagram 3, p.27.
- (4) Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for 1876 and 1886.
- (5) In 1885 there were still 123,518 (41%) of the available places in the Catholic elementary schools unoccupied. (Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1885 - 6. p. 209)
- (6) See Diagram 3, p. 27. In 1885, 33% of the children in the Catholic schools were under the age of seven years.

introduction at the other end of the scale of a new 'standard', standard 7. Among the specific subjects for which grant could be earned at the new standard were magnetism and electricity; heat, light and sound; chemistry and agriculture. But the deficiencies in the staffs of the Catholic schools, added to the early leaving and high proportion of half-timers, meant that very little was earned in the new standard. By 1890, when the Code had been in force for almost ten years, Catholic schools with over 5% of the elementary school population, earned exactly £129 grant in specific subjects or 0.95% of the total grant earned.(1) A pattern emerged during the remainder of the 19th. century showing that the Catholic elementary schools earned grants in the subjects for which no special facilities were required.(2) Specialised teaching and facilities were in short supply in the Catholic schools. Yet, overall, where the basic grant was concerned, in 1890 Catholic schools earned 5.2% of the money which was well up to the proportion which would be expected from the size of the elementary school population attending Catholic schools.(3) Figures suggest that there was no correlation between the amount of money spent in maintenance and the money earned in grants in the board schools. In the voluntary schools, the correlation was as high as +0.81 in 1896.(4)

A far more serious aspect of the Mundella Act was the recognition of the establishment of centres for educating pupil-teachers away from the schools where they were employed. The proposal was that pupil-teachers would be allowed to attend the centres for half of the school day. In many board schools, this would not have any serious effect on the staffing position as, under the large school boards, pupil-teachers were regarded as pupils rather than teachers. In the voluntary schools, they were regarded as teachers rather than pupils, since adult teachers were expensive to employ at the managers' expense, but pupil-teachers were paid by the Education Department. One Catholic elementary school in Bristol was maintained for five years by a staff consisting of the mistress and two pupil-teachers.(5)

(1) Annual Report of the Committee of Council for Education, 1890 - 1891, p.319. The concentration of poor Catholic families in industrial Lancashire where there was a demand for children's labour, probably contributed to the high proportion of half-timers in Catholic schools.

(2) See Diagram 5, p.30.

(3) As in (1) above.

(4) Details in Table I on p.31.

(5) Log Book, Holy Cross Elementary School, Victoria Street, Bristol. 1890 - 1895.

DIAGRAM 4

AMOUNT OF GOVERNMENT GRANT EARNED, 1876 - 1899
BOARD SCHOOLS IN BLACK (101% INCREASE)

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN RED (52% INCREASE)

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL.

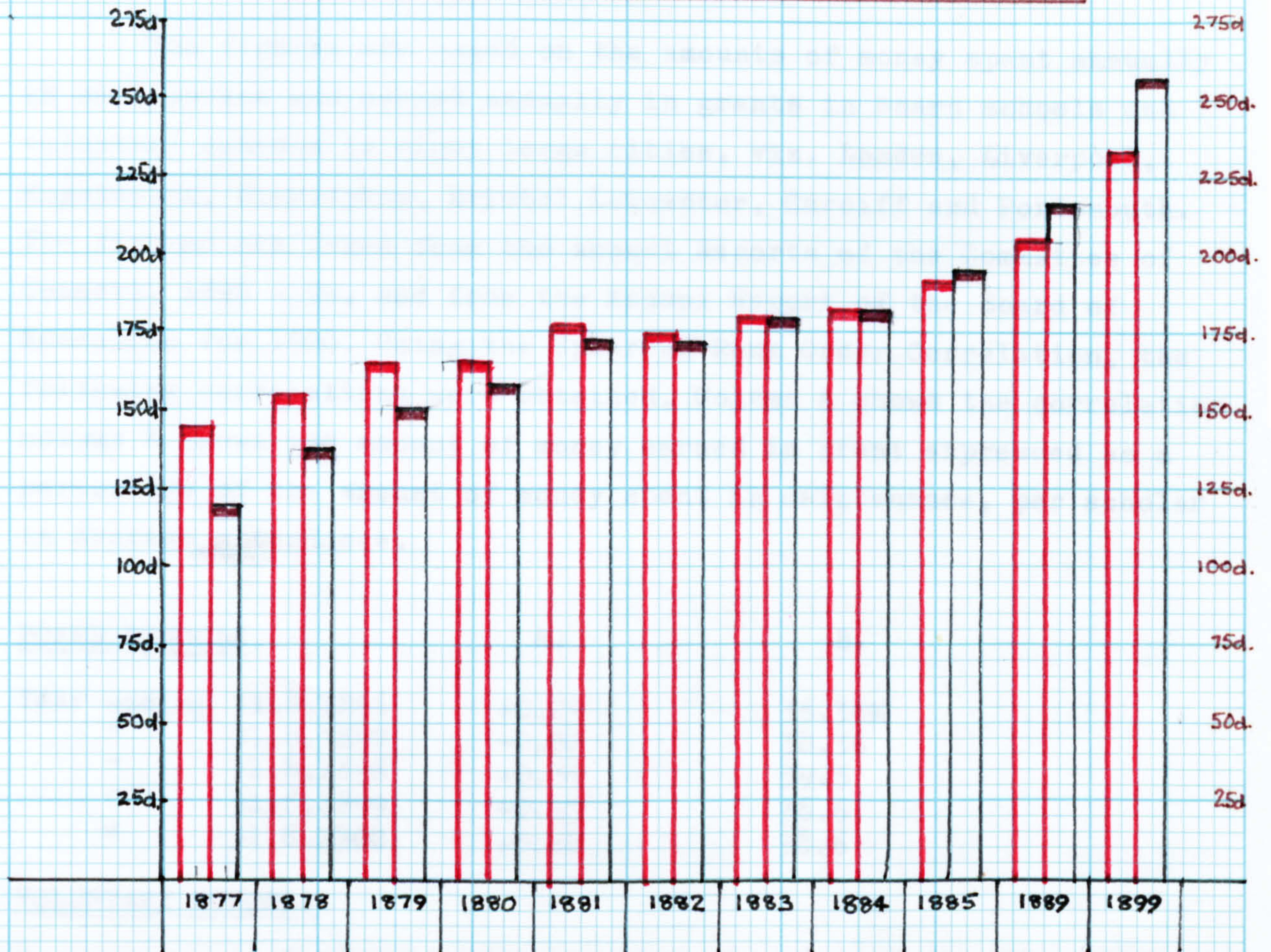
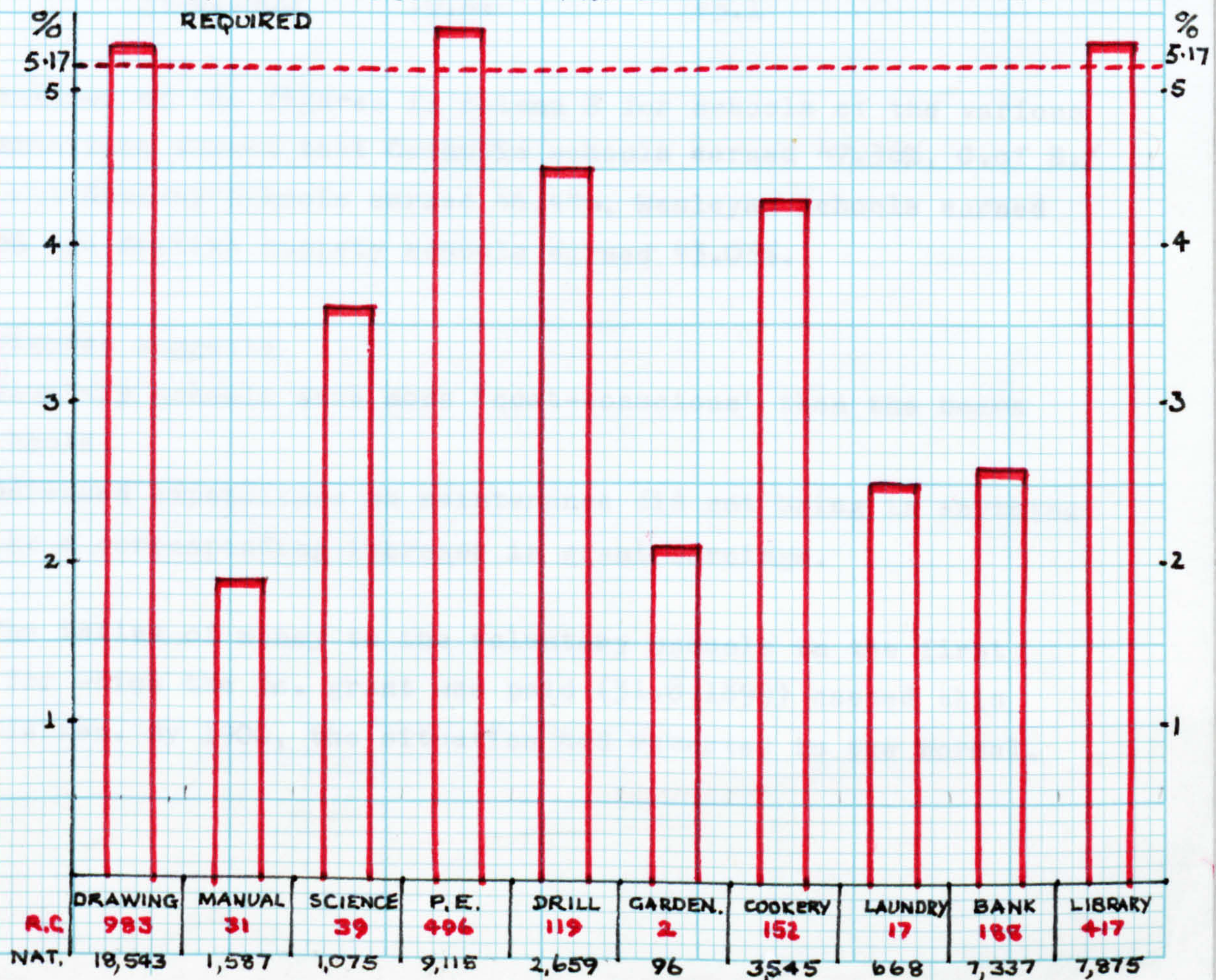


DIAGRAM 5

TEACHING FACILITIES IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1896-7

5.17% OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS INSPECTED WERE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS. THE FIGURES SUGGEST THAT CATHOLIC SCHOOLS EARNED GRANTS IN SUBJECTS FOR WHICH SPECIAL FACILITIES WERE NOT REQUIRED



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TABLE I. CORRELATION BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SPENT IN MAINTENANCE AND THE AMOUNT OF MONEY EARNED IN GOVERNMENT GRANT ANNUALLY, PER SCHOLAR IN AVERAGE ATTENDANCE.

The figures are based on the amounts of money spent annually in maintenance and earned annually in grants in board schools and voluntary schools in eight large cities, viz. London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Leicester, Cardiff and Portsmouth. The figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the Committee of Council, 1896 - 99, and from the Annual Report of the Board of Education for 1900. Using the Spearman Rank Order Correlation, the following correlations were obtained. Column A shows the correlation, column B shows the amount of money earned in grant expressed as a percentage of the amount of money spent in maintenance, per scholar in average attendance.

<u>BOARD SCHOOLS.</u>	A.	B.
Year ending 31.8.1896	+0.24	38.36%
" 31.8.1897	-0.02	38.36
" 31.8.1898	+0.34	39.5
" 31.8.1899	-0.15	38.6
" 31.8.1900	+0.22	38.6

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.

Year ending 31.8.1896	+0.81	49.8%
" 31.8.1897	+0.48	49.0
" 31.8.1898	+0.54	47.6
" 31.8.1899	-0.35 **	45.8
" 31.8.1900	+0.41	45.1

A breakdown of the figures in column B for schools of the various denominations showed that Catholic schools earned 47.36%, C.of E./National Society schools earned 46.48%, Wesleyan schools earned 46.18% and British Society schools earned 43.03%.

The figures suggest:

1. Voluntary schools were more 'cost-conscious' than the board schools.
2. Increased expenditure on maintenance did not bring in anything like a corresponding increase in grant earnings.

** . The influx of money to the voluntary schools in the first year for which the 5s. grant was paid (31.8.1899) caused this correlation. By 1900, the situation had reverted to the normal.

Oddly enough, Mundella seems to have decided upon the plan to establish pupil-teacher centres because of the success which had attended the setting-up of such a centre by the Sisters of Notre Dame in Liverpool. On a visit to that city in 1882, when he spoke at the prize-giving of the city's Council of Education, Mundella explained that among the arguments which had been put to him in favour of the pupil-teacher centres was 'the great success which had attended the Catholic Centre at Mount Pleasant and the amount of honours it had carried off....The London School Board has imitated what was first begun by the Catholics of this town.' (1) Generally, the centres were not set up on any large scale. By 1885, nine centres had been established catering for 1,636 pupil-teachers. They were in London, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. Catholic pupil-teachers did not attend the centres, since they were established and controlled by local school boards. Apart from the centres established by teaching Orders in convents, which were for girls only, little was done for Catholic pupil-teachers. The shortage of money which dogged the Catholic schools until after 1902 was the main cause. (2)

Mundella spoke of 'the middle-class education of our private-venture schools...miserable boarding schools which are supposed to give both education and fine manners....which turn out boys and girls utterly ignorant of what they might obtain at an elementary school in Birmingham for 2d. per week.' (3) Since the majority of the schools which Mundella had in mind were Catholic schools, such remarks did little to endear him to the Catholic community. He knew that the Catholic hierarchy were opposed to his attempts to improve the quality of elementary school education. He once wrote to his fellow-Liberal, Robert Leader,

'I keep screwing up the quality of the education, and this makes increased and increasing demands on the voluntary system...and brings the poorer school gradually into the hands of the Board. That is the real reason for Manning's outcry...' (4)

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- (1) From a newspaper report in the archives of Mount Pleasant Convent, Liverpool. Quoted in: Diamond, M.G. 'The Work of the Catholic Poor School Committee' unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1960. p.160.
- (2) See the chapter on 'The Education of Catholic Pupil-teachers' p.362.
- (3) Armytage, W.H.G. 'Mundella as Vice-President of the Council' in English Historical Review, January, 1948. p. 64.
- (4) Ibid. Letter dated 10th. December, 1882.

'Manning's outcry' to which Mundella refers, was in a magazine article(1) in which the Cardinal denounced the settlement of 1870 as being unjust to the voluntary schools.(2) He quoted five points to illustrate the injustice which the Act inflicted on the voluntary schools:

- 1.The law of the land now prohibited doctrinal Christianity teaching in the board schools.
- 2.Whilst agreeing that the school rate was a sensible charge on the poor, 'for so great a sensible burden, the poor ought to receive a sensible benefit.'
- 3.The character of the board schools had been so raised as to throw poor children into the voluntary schools.
4. Since the voluntary schools were excluded from any share of the school rate, 'the profuse and needless expenditure' of the board schools aggravates the injury inflicted upon the voluntary schools.
- 5.'The injustice will be seen to be still graver and more glaring if we compare the manner in which the voluntary schools and the board schools have been dealt with since the Act of 1870 became the law of the land.'

The Cardinal ended by asserting that the Act of 1870 had done 'nothing for those who, by their self-denial, created the national education of England; and it has done everything for those who have never done anything for the country or for themselves.'

The Cardinal's complaint did not go long unanswered. Rev. Dr. Dale, a member of the Birmingham School board and a Nonconformist minister in that city, replied.(3) He professed himself to be puzzled by the Cardinal's 'extraordinary statement' that the law of the land prohibited the teaching of doctrinal Christianity in board schools:

'It is the ratepayers, acting through their school boards, who have excluded, or done much to exclude, doctrinal Christianity... using the powers of the Act they have adopted bye-laws imposing limitations on the teaching of the schoolmaster which are not imposed by the Act itself...'

Dr. Dale went on to remind the Cardinal that the promoters of the

- (1) Manning, Henry, Cardinal: 'Is the 1870 Act a Just Law?' The Nineteenth Century December, 1882. p.60 et seq. Thomas Allies sent a copy of the article to Lord Ripon, who was at the time Viceroy of India.
- (2) When the Act of 1870 was passed, the Cardinal and the other Catholic Bishops were absent in Rome where the General Council of the Catholic Church was being held.
- (3) Dale, Rev. Dr. R. : 'Cardinal Manning's Demand' The Nineteenth Century, January, 1883. p. 65 et seq. Out of 2,225 school boards, 7 in England and 50 in Wales dispensed with religious teaching. (Report of the Cross Commission, p. 113.)

1870 Act had not proceeded on the exclusive lines of those 'who had created the national system of England.' These had insisted that no grant was to be paid to any school 'unless it was in connection with some recognised religious denomination... Secularists were expressly excluded.' But the promoters of the Act had sought no revenge and had made no proposals to withdraw grants from schools in connection with religious denominations. Dr. Dale ended by expressing his faith in the prospects of English Christianity about which the Cardinal had such doubts. It did not 'depend on the success of the Cardinal in getting a million pounds a year from the rates for the support of the voluntary schools.'(1)

It became clear that the Cardinal and the Vice-President of the Committee of Council were fundamentally opposed to each other in their views about how the voluntary schools should be funded. Mundella's aim was 'to decentralize in this matter of education.. I hope the time will come when you will dispense with the Committee of the Privy Council, insist on having no grants from them, but pay all out of your own resources...that is perfect self-government.'(2) The Cardinal had no great confidence in the school boards, possibly because of difficulties he had in dealing with similar bodies, the Boards of Guardians, in the 1860s. Neither was he convinced that the people were demanding board schools so that their children would not be exposed to religious teaching in the voluntary schools.

'If the people of this country had any zeal for the Act of 1870, ...they would go to the poll at the triennial elections. But the fact comes out that a very large proportion of electors never vote at all..... In the Metropolitan District at the last election, there were weeks of placarding, addressing and canvassing in public meetings and by private agents and not one in four voted.'(3)

The Cardinal suggested that the existing school rate should be levied over the whole country 'as part of the general taxation of the countrylet all schools, with or without religious teaching, partake in the school rate, as they now partake of

(1) Dale, Dr, R. : 'Cardinal Manning's Demand' The Nineteenth Century, January, 1883. p.75.

(2) Mundella, speaking at Manchester, 8th. July, 1884.

(3) Manning, Henry, Cardinal: 'Religion and the Rates,' 'The Nineteenth Century, February, 1883. pp. 316 - 7.

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the grants of the Consolidated Fund...under all the conditions of the Statute Law and the Minutes and Codes of the Privy Council.'(1)

When the Catholic Poor School Committee held its Annual General Meeting in April, 1883, the serious deterioration in the finances of the Catholic schools was discussed at length. The meeting decided that a deputation should attend on the Prime Minister, Gladstone, and present him with a Memorial on the serious situation of the finances of the Catholic schools.(2) The deputation, led by the Duke of Norfolk, met the Prime Minister on 2nd. June, 1883. The Memorial reminded him of:

'the great difficulties which attend the maintenance and even threaten the existence of the many voluntary elementary schools, owing to the growing requirements of the Education Department and the burden of the school rate on the supporters of the denominational schools.'

It stressed that the board schools were 'to supplement, not to supplant the voluntary schools....the rate by which the board schools were to be established and sustained was not to exceed 3d. in the £....the school board rate is already, on average for the whole country, 5½d. in the £; in some parishes it is 30d. in the £; in London, it is 7d in the £. ...The competition of the school boards and the requirements of the Education Department have combined to raise the cost of instruction in the Catholic schools from £1 0s. 6d. on 71,666 scholars in 1870 to £1 10s. 2½d on 163,157 scholars in 1882.'

After several paragraphs in the same vein, dealing with increased costs, the memorial suggested five proposals 'as a means of remedying and alleviating the existing difficulties.' These were: an increase in the Government grant; any rate-payers who subscribed voluntarily to a public elementary school should be allowed to allocate their education rate payment to any public elementary school of their choice; personal contributions to the upkeep of public elementary schools should be allowed against the rates; voluntary elementary schools should be relieved of the liability to pay school rates; some sanction should be imposed to prevent school boards from increasing the school rate

(1) Manning, Henry, Cardinal: 'Is the Act of 1870 a Just Law?' The Nineteenth Century, December, 1882. p.60 et seq.

(2) Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee, 1883. Memorial dated 2nd. June, 1883.

beyond a certain rate in the £.

Gladstone's reply was far from encouraging.(1) He enclosed a copy of a letter 'which I recently directed to be written to the National Society, giving the result of my communication with the Education Department.'(2) Briefly, the Prime Minister said he was 'unable to see that there had been any departure from the promises made in 1870 regarding Church schools.' So far as the 3d. in the £ limit on the school board rate was concerned, 'this was merely an expression of opinion which could not be held to constitute a pledge binding upon future administrators of the Act.' The letter ended with the terse comment that the difficulties in maintaining certain voluntary schools were the result of 'the undertakings into which the supporters of the Church schools have voluntarily entered...with full knowledge of the amount of public assistance to be expected.'

With over two years of his term of office still to run, and a sound majority in the Commons, it was clear that Gladstone was in no mood to alienate any of his followers by granting further concessions to the voluntary schools. As will be seen later, the behaviour of many of the Catholic clergy in Ireland at this time did little to endear the Government to the Catholic community in England, many of whom were Irish or of recent Irish descent.

THE HIERARCHY AND THE POOR SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

By 1880, the Poor School Committee had other problems in no way connected with the relations with the Government. The Annual Reports from 1879 onwards show that the financial position of the Committee was deteriorating. In 1881, for example, the Committee was forced to sell £3,948 in Consols to pay grants which had already been promised. These grants included the £500 given annually to each training college. The training colleges' difficulties were in part caused by the delay in paying the Government grant given for each student.(3) The Poor School Committee also

(1) The reply is dated 25th. June, 1883.

(2) The copy was of the letter written at the Prime Minister's direction by E.W. Hamilton, and had been sent to the secretary of the National Society on 13th. June, 1883.

(3) The grant was not paid until the teacher had completed training, obtained a teaching post and had been seen by the H.M. Inspector at the annual inspection to be a suitable teacher. A delay of two years could occur before the training college received the grant.

met the cost of the religious inspection of the Catholic schools by making a grant to each diocese for the religious inspector, who was a diocesan priest. The Annual Report of the Poor School Committee for 1885 shows that the grants made to the training colleges and to the dioceses for the religious inspectors accounted for more than the Committee's income.(1) As the Committee had already promised a grant of £200 towards the cost of any pupil-teacher centre established and made annual awards to pupil-teachers who did well in the Queen's Scholarship examination, its finances were precarious.

There were other difficulties as well as those of finance. Relations with the Hierarchy had deteriorated also. The Cardinal was dissatisfied with the attitude of the Committee's secretary, Thomas Allies. Like the Cardinal, Allies was a convert to the Catholic Faith(2) On his conversion, he adopted the attitude of the old Catholics many of whom tended to distrust the new Cardinal Archbishop who had been a Catholic for so short a time. Matters erupted in 1883, soon after the controversy between the Cardinal and Dr. Dale appeared in the pages of The Nineteenth Century magazine. Allies sent a copy of the Cardinal's article, 'Is the Education Act of 1870 a Just Law?' to Lord Ripon, then in India as Viceroy. Ripon's letter to Allies shows how wide the rift had become between the Cardinal on the one side and Allies and Ripon on the other. Ripon wrote:(3)

'...I believe that the path along which the Cardinal is exhorting English Catholics to walk is surrounded with dangers of the most serious kind...and will, in all probability, lead to the loss, in whole or in part, of the many and great advantages which the Catholic educational institutions enjoy under the Act of 1870.'

Having listed the amounts of money which the Catholic schools had received in grant he went on:

'to run the risk of losing them by grasping at more seems to me to be an act of supreme folly...If ever there was a case in which the bird in hand is worth two in the bush, this is it....His Eminence knows nothing of the forces he is about to array against him, or of the sleeping dogs he is about to awake.'

(1) The Annual Report, 1884-85, shows that expenditure exceeded income by more than £8,000.

(2) Allies, appointed by Cardinal Wiseman, was secretary from 1853 until 1890.

(3) 'Correspondence with Persons in England.' State Paper Room, British Library. Letter 15, Ripon to Allies, 6th. Feb. 1883.

'it is only the part of common prudence for us to bear the minor evils from which we now suffer rather than run the most serious risk of losing the great benefits we now enjoy...'

Two other points in Lord Ripon's letter are of interest. He was opposed to the Cardinal's co-operation with the Anglicans in the struggle for the voluntary schools, because 'to lean on the Established Church in this matter is to lean on a broken reed.... the great mass of the laity of the Church of England are content with (the board schools.) To suppose otherwise is pure delusion.' He also condemned out-of-hand the Cardinal's suggestion that there should be an educational rate levied nationally and shared equally among all recognised elementary schools. 'No living statesman would listen for one moment to a proposal to establish a national rate to be administered locally.'

The letter concluded with an ominous threat:

'If this policy is maintained by His Eminence when I return to England, it will be quite impossible for me to resume the Chairmanship of the Poor School Committee. The Chairman of that Committee ought to be able to act in entire concert with the Cardinal and the Bishops on educational questions; and as it would be quite out of my power to do so if the views put forward in his Eminence's article still prevailed, I should not be a proper person to occupy the chair of the Committee.'

It is difficult to decide if, in his letter to Allies, Ripon was expressing the views of a senior Liberal politician who was anxious to toe the Party line on the voluntary schools question, or the views of a Catholic Peer who honestly and sincerely believed that if the Cardinal persisted in his efforts to have the 1870 settlement re-examined the result would be the end of the voluntary schools. But the Cardinal knew that unless the 1870 settlement was amended, the voluntary schools were doomed anyway:

'I affirmed that, in the end, the board schools would crush or starve the voluntary schools...Dr. Dale says, 'I think the school board system is certain to supersede the schools of the voluntaryists.'(1).

(1) Manning, Henry, Cardinal: 'Religion and the Rates' The Nineteenth Century, February, 1883, p.326. The Cardinal had written the article in reply to Dr. Dale's article in the January issue of the magazine, 'Cardinal Manning's Demand.' Dr. Dale had stated that in many of the Birmingham voluntary schools there were now many unoccupied places but the board schools were overcrowded.(p.72)

As a paid - and a very well-paid - servant of the Poor School Committee(1) it was Allies's duty to carry out the wishes of the Committee. If he felt that, in conscience, he could not do this, the honourable course would have been to have told the Cardinal of his feelings and resigned. As it was, by remaining in his position as secretary, and working to oppose the Cardinal's wishes, he created an impossible situation for the Cardinal.

Allies showed Lord Ripon's letter to the Duke of Norfolk, at the time acting as Chairman of the Committee, and the Duke immediately telegraphed to the Viceroy. With the Annual Meeting of the Poor School Committee fixed for Low Week, to coincide with the meeting of the Hierarchy, the Duke was anxious to have Ripon's views on the line which the Committee should take in its meeting with the Cardinal and the Bishops. Ripon's reply was in quite a different vein from that of his letter to Allies:

'I have not the slightest desire to enter into a controversy, and least of all into a controversy in any degree public, with Cardinal Manning on this subject. The last thing that I would wish would be to have the appearance of putting myself forward in opposition to him.....If it should, at any time, become my duty to express my opinion on the question, in Parliament or elsewhere, I must say honestly what I feel; but I do not think it would be right in me to assume, without necessity, a position of antagonism to His Eminence's policy...(2)

The Poor School Committee met the Hierarchy in Low Week, 1883. The meeting was a difficult one because of the deterioration of the financial position of the elementary schools.

'The difficulties of the question were so much before their minds that they did not feel united enough in their opinions as to what was the wisest course.....to be able to pass any vote as to the course which it was the best to take.'(3)

It was shortly after the Low Week meeting that Allies took the unprecedented step of writing to the Pope, calling his attention

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- (1) When Allies retired in 1890, he received a pension of £400 p.a. His successor, Mr. Honeybun, received a salary of £150 p.a.
 - (2) 'Correspondence with Persons in England, 1883' State Paper Room, British Library. Letter 34, Ripon to the Duke of Norfolk, 26th. March, 1883.
 - (3) Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee, 1883.

to the position which the Cardinal was taking up on the schools' issue. It is of interest to note that Allies does not associate himself with any of the views which Ripon had expressed in his letter to Allies.(1) He refers to 'a letter of great weight I have recently received from the Viceroy of India, Lord Ripon, who, although absent, is still Chairman of our Committee.' He then outlines Ripon's political career in the Gladstone Government, adding 'he knows the subject thoroughlyno one of us could better estimate the force of the political partiesIn his letter he expresses to me his great fear that we are trying to compromise the peace made with the law of 1870.....I think that very many Catholics fear what Lord Ripon fears, and feel what he feels.'(2)

Cardinal Manning went to Rome in the Autumn of 1883, and it would be reasonable to assume that the matter was discussed by the Pope and his Cardinal. At the time of this visit, the Errington Mission, as it was called, had begun, and the attitude of the Liberal Party to the Church in England and Ireland was made very difficult by the attitude of the Irish Catholic clergy. It may be significant that when Cardinal Manning chose the second Catholic representative to serve on the Cross Commission two years later, Allies, who seemed the obvious choice, was passed over in favour of the Irish Nationalist Member, Bernard Charles Molloy. Allies felt this to be a slight on the Poor School Committee, and, of course, on himself.

Meanwhile, in 1884, Cardinal Manning had been invited to serve on the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes by Sir Charles Dilke.(3) He was unable to devote as much time as he would have liked to the affairs of the Catholic schools. However, the man who was eventually to succeed the Cardinal at Westminster, Bishop (later Cardinal) Vaughan was organising

(1) Allies, M.H.: 'Thomas William Allies' London. 1907. pp. 87-92 Letter dated 16th. April, 1883. Allies wrote the original letter to the Pope in Italian, and only parts of it are translated in Mary Allies's biography of her father. These extracts are from a translation made by Dr. Giuseppe Brunetti, formerly of the School of Italian at the University of Birmingham for Dr. D.E. Selby's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'The Work of Cardinal Manning in the Field of Elementary Education.' (Un. of Birmingham, 1963.) I am grateful to Dr. Selby and the University of Birmingham for kind permission to quote from the translation.

(2) Ibid.

(3) The Manning Papers. Dilke to Manning, 12th. February, 1884.

a 'Voluntary Schools Association' in his Salford Diocese, in an attempt to remove some of the worst of the injustices caused by the implementation of the 1870 Act. At an inaugural meeting at Salford, in February, 1884, Anglican as well as Catholic schools were represented.(1) The meeting pledged its efforts towards the removal of four injustices. These were:

1. The abolition of the 17s.6d limit in grant earnings in voluntary schools. (No voluntary school could receive more than 17s.6d. per child in grant unless the voluntary contributions to the school exceeded 17s.6d. per child. In schools where this was the case, grants could be earned up to the amount of the voluntary contributions. In 1890, Catholic elementary schools earned £167,000 in grants but £2,600 was deducted. Source: Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1890-91. p.319)
2. Equal treatment for the parents of poor children who are unable to pay the school pence. Such parents whose children attended voluntary schools were compelled to go the local Board of Guardians as paupers to obtain the free school tickets, although Forster had specifically insisted in 1870 that free school tickets should have 'no stigma of pauperism about them.'(2) Poor children unable to pay the fees at board schools were allowed to attend without payment, while the application for remission was considered, and if this was granted, the school board paid the fees out of the school rate. Bishop Vaughan considered that as the Board of Guardians and the school board received their funds from the same source, viz. the rates, the school board should pay the money for poor children attending the voluntary schools.
3. The power of the school boards to veto the admission of new voluntary schools to the grant list if there were empty places in the boards' schools. Thus, if there was an influx of Catholic families to an area, and money was collected to provide a new school, the local school board could veto the payment of grants to the school if there were sufficient places for the Catholic children attending the new school in the local board school. Between 1875 and 1901, 82 applications to establish voluntary schools were refused, 38 of the applications being in respect of Catholic schools.(3)
4. The obligation on the voluntary schools to pay the school rate for the upkeep of the board schools.

(1) Snead-Cox, J.G.: 'Cardinal Vaughan' London. 1910, 2 vol. V.2, pp. 92 et seq.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 17th. February, 1870.

(3) Figures from the Annual Reports of the Committee of Council and the Board of Education for the appropriate years. The Dan-y-Graig case which is referred to in the chapter on the Cross Commission (p.79) is a typical example. In fact, of the 38 Catholic applications which were refused, 11 were in respect of applications made in Wales.

The Association did not remain a diocesan one for very long. With the Cardinal's support, the prospect of a more aggressive policy on the schools' question was welcomed around the country. In April, 1884, The Tablet was 'authorised to state' that, at the Bishops' meeting in Low Week, the Voluntary Schools' Association was the form of association adopted for the various Dioceses, with a central council for the purpose of obtaining unity of action composed of representatives of the Diocesan Associations to meet in London. 'This is the best news we have had to record for many a week....the opening of a new chapter in the history of agitation...'(1)

The Association also opened a new chapter in the relations between the Hierarchy and the Poor School Committee. The 'bird in the hand' policy, advocated by Ripon and Allies, was out. The Association had, in a short time, become the official body of the Hierarchy in putting forward the claims of the schools. When Ripon returned from India in January, 1885, he was welcomed by the Cardinal:

'We need you at home more than you are needed in India, for we are in much confusion....Men are striving to lead who will undo Christian England if they come to power...'(2)

However, such a cordial note did little to patch up the ever-widening gap between the Hierarchy and the Poor School Committee. After the Bishops' Low Week meeting in April, 1885, a memorandum was sent to the Poor School Committee. It stated that 'the formation of the Voluntary Schools' Association in Low Week of last year was both wise and necessary' because it was quite impossible for the Bishops to entrust 'to any body distinct from themselves the responsibility of deliberating upon and deciding as to the action to be taken by the Catholic Church in England in respect of the present state of education under the Act of 1870.' The memorandum went on to explain how the new Association would function. There would be a committee formed of five Bishops to carry out the instructions of a general meeting of the Bishops on education matters. The various Diocesan Voluntary Schools'

(1) Quoted in Snead-Cox, op.cit. Vol.2, pp. 98 - 99.

(2) The Ripon Papers. Add.Mss. 43545, Manning to Ripon, 25th. January, 1885.

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Associations would be able to submit resolutions from their members to this Committee. But it was the committee of the five Bishops who would shape education policy, establish communication with all Members of Parliament. 'who may be willing to support the demands of Catholic and Christian education.' (1)

Ripon and Allies did not take the rebuff to their authority lying down. In November, 1885, after the Liberal Government had been defeated and the general election was pending, the Poor School Committee circulated a statement praising the manner in which the Liberal Government had supported the Catholic schools and training colleges. The Cardinal sent a copy of the statement to Bishop Vaughan at Salford:

'Please read the enclosed. It is directly contrary to my four or five last Pastorals, in which I begged for the training schools....I have seen Allies. He maintains that the Committee and not the Bishops founded and maintained the training colleges. (2) ...He magnifies the Government and minimises the work of the Church..and revealed a spirit of antagonism and jealousy which is hopeless...He is fully with Lord Ripon and 1870.' (3)

A few weeks later, the Cardinal again wrote to Bishop Vaughan:

'We shall have danger from Lord Ripon and Allies... I saw Allies on Tuesday...most unsatisfactory...full of animosity against the Bishops and the priests,... small and spiteful, claiming for the Poor School Committee to be the representative of Catholic education with the Government...' (4)

During the brief period of Gladstone's Government in 1886 (5) Lord Ripon was a member of the Privy Council and sat on the Education Committee of the Privy Council. He resigned his office as Chairman of the Poor School Committee but remained a member of that Committee. But when the Catholic Bishops met for the annual Low Week meeting in 1886, a further memorandum was drawn up for the attention of the Poor School Committee, and the Cardinal directed that a copy of the memorandum should be placed in the Minutes of the Poor School Committee. This memorandum is

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- (1) From the copy in the Norfolk Papers, Arundel Castle Archives.
(2) Diamond suggests that the Cardinal refused to support the setting up of a training college for women in the Westminster Archdiocese, hence its establishment in Wandsworth, in the Southwark Diocese. (Diamond, M.G.: 'The Work of the Catholic Poor School Committee.' Unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1960. pp. 147, 166, 168.)
(3) The Manning Papers. Manning to Vaughan. 17th. November, 1885.
(4) Ibid. 4th. December, 1885.
(5) February - June, 1886.

significant in that it reminded the Poor School Committee of the nature of that organisation.(1) It is difficult to see that the priests who represented the Bishops on the Committee were in any doubt about the origins of the Committee. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that it was a reminder to Allies and Lord Ripon, both of whom were members of the Anglican church when the Committee was set up, that the Hierarchy were the ultimate arbiters on education policy. The memorandum called attention to the fact that the Committee derived its existence from an act of the Vicars-Apostolic (2) and this had been continued 'by the acceptance and concurrence of the Hierarchy.' This being the case, 'it is not of the nature of any committee to be independent of the origin from which it springs.' The Vicars-Apostolic had promised the Poor School Committee their 'approval, sanction and co-operation....All these expressions imply ...general supervision, occasional direction and final control.' Thus, where large sums of money were given to the Committee for educational purposes, 'it is the duty of the Committee to seek the opinion of the Bishops before taking any final steps regarding the disposal of the same.' The memorandum concluded:

'It appears to the Bishops that, at the present time, some revision and modification is required. One case at least seems to have arisen in which the Bishops have neither had sufficient information or been duly asked for direction....The Bishops are desirous that the original intentions of the Vicars-Apostolic should be verified....and the relations between the Poor School Committee and the Episcopate brought into harmony with its original constitution.'

By March, 1888, Allies was worried that the financial situation of the Poor School Committee had deteriorated even further. He wrote to the Duke of Norfolk:

'I am in a state of great perplexity, since there is not a word about your return...There are two meetings, one for the purpose of reporting to the General Meeting on the subject of our finances, the other to arrange for the General Meeting which must be held as soon as possible. At both of these meetings, your presence is essential. I have just had the opportunity of asking Lord Ripon how long he would be in London. He says that after the 24th. he shall leave.'

(1) From the copy in the Norfolk Papers, Arundel Castle Archives.

(2) The Committee had been established before the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850.

'He used the words I have quoted above as to your presence being essential.....In that which prepares for the General Meeting, the Memorandum sent by Cardinal Manning to be put on our Minutes in July, 1880(1) must come up, and certainly require your presence.' (2)

There is no record of any reply from the Duke, but Allies wrote to him again, about a week later. Clearly, the Secretary was very concerned about the finances of the Committee:

'Seeing that what I feel about the precarious state of the Poor School Committee was quite shared by Lord Ripon, I venture to say something upon it...We have greatly lost in public opinion in the last few years ...Neither Lord Bute, nor Lord Clifford nor the late Lord Gerard would accede to the wishes of their Bishops to become members of the Committee...The Bishop of Leeds has in vain sought for a successor to a vacancy in that Diocese...At Edinburgh, the vacancy caused by Lord Henry Kerr's death has never been filled...That caused by Lord Lovatt's death is unfilled...

I have heard Colonel Prendergast, the last nominee of Cardinal Manning, speak of the Committee in the most contemptuous terms, as being without energy or qualities of any kind... Two members applied to for their subscriptions have paid indeed, but hesitate about future subscriptions... Two more I hear of think that if you are unable to take the Chair at the General Meeting, it would not be unlikely to lead to the dissolution of the Committee, for many ask, 'What is the good of it?'

Allies's letter went on to complain about the way in which the Cardinal had slighted the Committee in selecting Molloy as the second Catholic representative on the Cross Committee.

'The Committee was evicted from the very place and the office it was intended it should occupy...one person posed as the representative of the clergy and of the laity in the most important occasion we have ever seen. Is it wonderful that after this people should ask, 'What is the use of the Committee?'

Allies added that he had heard one of the Bishops describe Molloy as 'the parish clerk to say 'Amen' to the parson,' a reference to the Cardinal's Anglican antecedents. Allies does not mention the name of the Bishop.(3)

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- (1) Allies obviously meant 1886.
 - (2) The Norfolk Papers, Arundel Castle Archives. Allies to the Duke of Norfolk, 7th. March, 1888.
 - (3) Molloy resigned from the Cross Commission in June, 1887, and the Duke of Norfolk took his place. Murphy lists the Duke as a member of the Commission but does not mention Molloy. (Murphy, J: 'Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970' London. 1971)

Allies then turned to the state of the Committee's finances. He complained that, during the previous two years, the Poor School Committee had lost six important subscribers. 'Five of them were members whose subscriptions were £500 per year.' He added that of the successors to the six, 'two only subscribe, one £20 per year, one £15 per year.' He ended with a bitter complaint against the priests who were the inspectors of religious instruction in the schools.

'By their last move at the General Meeting, the Inspectors maintained their own salaries by sacrificing the rewards given to teachers for assisting their managers in giving Religious Instruction, and to the pupil-teachers for proficiency.' (1)

Another important issue had been raised at the Poor School Committee's annual meeting in 1887, viz. the question of pensions for the Catholic teachers who had served for many years in the schools. The matter had been deferred at the 1887 meeting, but, in view of the adoption of pension schemes by many school boards, to put the matter off indefinitely would mean that teachers in Catholic schools were at a further disadvantage compared with their colleagues in the board schools.

The Duke wrote to Allies and asked for a detailed statement of the Committee's financial position. The statement which Allies sent to the Duke (2) showed that in 1887 there was an income of £3,966 and an expenditure of £4,547, leaving a deficiency of some £580. Expenditure had been curtailed to £4,547 because of a cut of £1,114 in grants to teachers, pupil-teachers and 'books and medals to scholars.' In fact, the effect which the Voluntary Schools' Association was having on the Poor School Committee was such as to render the Committee quite ineffective. In 1892, the Committee was relieved of the responsibility of paying the religious instruction inspectors so that a start could be made in paying pensions to retired Catholic teachers. Allies had retired in 1890 after almost forty years in the service of the Committee. After 1902, the Committee had very little to do with elementary schools, which became more and more the responsibility of the parishes which they served. Catholic education

(1) Norfolk Papers, Arundel Castle Archives, Allies to the Duke of Norfolk, 14th. March, 1888.

(2) Ibid. Allies to the Duke of Norfolk, 10th. April, 1888.

institutions which were not the responsibility of one particular parish, e.g. training colleges, recognised secondary schools, remained the responsibility of the Committee which was re-organised as the Catholic Education Council in 1904. However, for the time being, the necessity to have some official Catholic organisation for communication between the Hierarchy and the Government ensured a continuing role for the Poor School Committee.(1) The unique position in the House of Lords held by the Duke of Norfolk, who was also the Chairman of the Committee, meant that the Committee was able to perform that duty very efficiently. Unfortunately, the Irish Nationalists refused to have any communication whatever with the School Committee or the Catholic Education Council, declaring them to be 'Tory-dominated' organisations because of their Chairman's politics. This refusal was to cause great difficulty during the events in 1902 and 1906.

(1) The word 'Poor' was dropped from the title in 1896.

Apart from the day-to-day struggle to maintain his beloved schools, the Cardinal was pre-occupied with the larger problem of how the future of the schools could be secured. An ideal solution would be to have in Parliament a majority of Members who would be prepared to support legislation to amend the working of the 1870 Education Act. It might have seemed that he already had the nucleus of such a majority in the 70 or so Irish Nationalist Members, the majority of whom were Catholics. But the Cardinal knew that he could not count on their whole-hearted support. Their leader, Charles Parnell, was one of the few Members who was not a Catholic. Certainly, he had little or no interest in the schools question, but was interested only in securing Home Rule for Ireland. His loyalty to the Irish cause gave him a great hold on the allegiance of the Irish people. There was every possibility that some measure of Home Rule for Ireland would be granted by the Liberal Party. But that same Liberal Party were avowed opponents of any further help for the voluntary schools. During the life of the Liberal Government of 1880 - 1885, the situation in Ireland had deteriorated very seriously, so much so that any measure of Home Rule was deemed to be impossible for the time being. But two incidents directly connected with Irish affairs had an adverse affect on the Liberal fortunes in the 1885 election, and were responsible for the return of the Conservative Government which, during its short life (1) established the Cross Commission which looked into the working of the Education Act. The incidents were the Phoenix Park murders (2) and the Liberal Government's attempts to interfere in the election of the Irish Archbishop and to persuade the Catholic clergy to speak out against the terrorism associated with the Land League.

Although Gladstone's Irish Land Act of 1870 was an honest attempt to secure some form of justice for Irish peasants, the working of the Act was thwarted by the activities of the 'Land League,' a movement supported by the Irish Catholic clergy and the Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament. Members of the League dealt summarily and viciously with any landlord who evicted a peasant from his holding or with anyone who occupied a holding from which a tenant had been evicted. Making use of killings, beatings and threats, the League spread a reign of terror throughout

(1) November, 1885 - February, 1886.

(2) On 6th. May, 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish, Secretary for Ireland and his assistant, Thomas Burke, were murdered as they walked in the Park in broad daylight. The five murderers were hanged.

the country districts of Ireland. In an attempt to check a reign of terror which the Land Leaguers were spreading across that country, in 1882, the Liberal Government passed the Crimes Act.'(1) The Prime Minister realised that, ideally, he would have approached Cardinal Manning for his assistance.(2) A hint from the Cardinal to the Pope that some of the Irish clergy were too enthusiastic in their support for the Land League might have curbed the activities of the League's supporters. But since the Cardinal depended on the support of the Irish Members in the Commons for his voluntary schools' campaign, Gladstone knew he would do nothing to offend them. The other English Cardinal, John Henry Newman, promised Gladstone 'to do all I can to be of service, however slight, in a political crisis which must be felt as a grave anxiety by all,'(3) but there is no evidence that he was able to anything in the matter.

The Liberal Government already had a strictly unofficial emissary at the Vatican. Lord Granville was anxious that the Pope should hear another side of the Government's policy towards Ireland as well as the version put forward by the members of the Irish College in Rome and by the members of the Irish Hierarchy who visited the College. He had persuaded an Irish Liberal Member of Parliament, George Errington, to visit Rome from time to time and to put the Government's case to anyone in the Vatican who wished to hear it. Errington, a Catholic and a friend of Forster,(4) was acting as a purely private individual, but had the unofficial backing of the British Embassy in Rome. In a letter to Sir Augustus Paget, the British Ambassador,(5) Granville suggested that if the Pope wished, he could show his interest in the maintenance of law and order in Ireland by his choice of Bishops for the Irish dioceses. To help to bring this about, Granville explained that 'Mr. Errington, M.P. for Longford, is going to Rome, and may be able to give you information as to the exact manner in which a favourable treatment may be secured.'(6) The 'Errington Mission' which was 'the offspring of the brain of Dublin Castle, rather than of Downing Street,' soon ran into difficulties. It became clear that the Pope would require a 'quid pro quo' in the form of a relationship between the Vatican

(1) The Act allowed terrorist crimes to be tried in special courts.

(2) Gladstone and Manning had attended the same school and the same University.

(3) Morley, J.: 'The Life of William Ewart Gladstone,' 3vol. London, 1903. Vol.3, pp. 62 - 63.

(4) Forster, the author of the 1870 Education Act, was Chief Secretary for Ireland from December, 1880 until April, 1882.

(5) Fitzmaurice, op. cit. p. 286. Letter dated 3rd. December, 1880.

(6) Lord Granville to Sir Augustus Paget, 3rd. December, 1880.

and the British Government. Gladstone would not hear of this. He wrote to Granville:

'We want nothing but that the clergy, like other people, should support the law...The Pope ought to want this just as much as we do, and not to set it up as something gratuitous on his part, or requiring an equivalent on ours.' (1)

Not surprisingly, when news of the Errington Mission leaked out, there were high feelings on both sides. The Irish Nationalists and their leader, Parnell, saw the possibility of the creation of a breach with Rome. Staunch Protestants saw Errington as another Earl of Castlemaine and called for his indictment. But, in an unexpected way, Parnell had reason to be grateful to Errington. In May, 1883, at Granville's request, Errington persuaded Cardinal Simeone to send a Papal Rescript to the Irish Bishops forbidding Catholics to contribute to a fund which had been started to save Parnell's estate from bankruptcy. The Sacred Congregation 'were moved to take this step because of the intimidation and other criminal acts associated with the nationalist movement.' The result was that a fund set up to raise £20,000 for Parnell, actually raised a total of £38,000. (2)

By the end of 1883, it was clear to Errington that his 'Mission' had failed. He wrote to Granville complaining that his nose 'was out of joint in consequence of the attitude Manning was taking.' When the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin died in 1885, it was confidently expected that his successor would be Dr. Walsh, an ardent Nationalist and a supporter of the Land League. Granville suggested to Errington that, while the British Government had no desire to appoint the Archbishop of Dublin, there were more suitable candidates than Dr. Walsh. Granville suggested the names of Dr. Donnelly, the Auxiliary Bishop of Dublin, and Archbishop Moran, an Irishman, then Archbishop of Sydney. What happened next is a matter of surmise. Fitzmaurice (3) relates how the draft of a letter to Lord Granville from Errington appeared in the newspaper United Ireland. (4) In the draft, Errington had written of his intention 'to keep the Vatican in good humour' while the matter of the appointment of the

(1) Gladstone to Lord Granville, 6th. December, 1881. Quoted in Fitzmaurice, E.: 'The Life of the Second Earl Granville.' 2vol. London. 1905. V.2, p.285.

(2) See O'Connor, T.P.: 'Memoirs of an Old Parliamentarian.' 2 vol. London. 1929. Vol.1, pp. 373 - 6. The fund was started by the Freeman's Journal, 17th. March, 1883. Archbishop Croke of Cashel had given £50. Three or four other Bishops had contributed.

(3) Fitzmaurice, op. cit. Vol. 2, p.292.

(4) For the complete letter, see Appendix 1, p.399.

Archbishop was in suspense. He assured the Foreign Secretary of his ability 'to exert strong pressure in certain quarters' when the appropriate time arrived. The letter was never sent to Granville. As it was a rough copy, written on House of Commons note-paper, the assumption must be that Errington threw it into a waste-paper basket from which it was retrieved. But it was enough to convince the Irish Members that the Liberal Government had tried to influence the Vatican in the choice of the next Archbishop of Dublin. This was to have serious consequences for the Liberals in the 1885 election.

In due course, Dr. Walsh was named Archbishop of Dublin.(1) His appointment gave the Irish Nationalist Party the backing of the clergy, and added even further to their standing in the country. George Errington was created Baron Errington for his efforts, and Gladstone wrote to congratulate him on a 'well-earned honour.'(2) But many Liberals had misgivings about the whole incident. Dilke noted in his diary that when the Pope sent for the English Bishops to come to Rome, he was acting on Cardinal Manning's advice. 'I know that Manning bitterly resented Errington's visits to Rome.'(3) On the same date as that entry, 21st. April, 1885, Chamberlain wrote to Dilke telling him of a conversation he had with the Cardinal.(4) Apparently, Chamberlain had told the Cardinal, 'Do not let Mr. Errington meddle with the Archbishopric of Dublin.' A few days later, when Dilke himself saw the Cardinal, he recorded in his diary, 'The Cardinal spoke to me expressing his great vexation as to Spencer's action through Errington.'(5) So, as Gladstone's administration drew towards its close, the problem of Ireland was as far from a solution as ever. Indeed, the Irish Nationalists, under Parnell's leadership, had decided they would settle for nothing less than an Irish Parliament in Dublin, and in this objective, they now had the backing of the Irish Bishops.

(1) Dr. Walsh was never named a Cardinal. McClelland describes this as 'the first instalment of the revenge of the Old Catholics.'
(McClelland, V.A.: Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence, 1865 - 1892. O.U.P. London. 1962. p. 198.

(2) Gladstone to Errington, 30th. June, 1885. (Quoted in Fitzmaurice, op. cit. Vol. 2. p.292)

(3) Gwynn, S.L. and Tuckwell, G.M.: 'The Life of the Honourable Sir Charles Dilke.' 2 Vol. London, 1917. Vol.2, p.130.

(4) Ibid. p. 130.

(5) Ibid. p. 131. In spite of their differences, Dilke and the Cardinal were close friends. It seems likely that it was Dilke who kept the Cardinal informed on the Errington Mission.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1885: THE CATHOLIC VOTE AND THE SCHOOLS
ISSUE.

It was not only on the Irish question that the Liberal Government found itself at odds with the Catholic community in 1885. There was a declared hostility on the part of many leading Liberals to any further concessions to the voluntary schools. This in turn caused many Catholics to look to the Conservatives as the champions of the cause of the voluntary schools. Another incident may have played some part in enlisting Catholic support for the Conservative cause in the election which resulted in the setting-up of the Cross Commission.

Winston (later Sir Winston) Churchill, in the biography of his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, describes the incident thus:

'There was no compact or bargain of any kind,' Lord Randolph told Fitzgibbon a year later. (i.e. in 1886) 'I told Parnell, when he sat on that sofa in Connaught Place, that if the Tories took office, and I was a member of the Government, I would not consent to renew the Crimes Act.' Parnell replied, 'In that case, you will have the Irish vote at the election...' No trace of paper relating....to this subject can be traced.'(1)

Two of Parnell's biographers, Haslip (2) and Lyons (3) also record the incident, but neither refers to any source for it. It was common gossip at the time of the 1885 election that there was an agreement between Parnell and the Conservatives to secure the Irish vote. For example, a letter in The Times in October, 1885, stated

'I am surprised to see that a statement is going the rounds of the newspapers to the effect that I said at Shanklin on the 15th. inst. that Lord Salisbury, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. Parnell had held a conference in the smoking room at the House of Commons, and had agreed to drop the Crimes Act, thus securing the Irish vote...'

Sir Barrington Simeon, the writer of the letter, went on to say that it was common talk in places where Members of Parliament met that such a meeting had taken place. Far from denying that he had made the statement, he had said 'no more than many leading members of the Liberal Party, and who know very well what they are talking

(1) Churchill, W.S.: 'Lord Randolph Churchill' 2 vo. London. 1952 edition. Vo. 1, pp. 394 - 395.

(2) Haslip, J. : 'Parnell' London. 1936. p. 272.

(3) Lyons, F.S.L.: 'Charles Stewart Parnell,' London. 1972. p. 279. See also Gwyn, S. and Tuckwell, G.M.: 'The Life of the Hon. Sir Charles Dilke.' 2 vo. London, 1917. Vo. 2. p. 133.

about.'(1) Indeed, some weeks earlier, in August, 1885, Herbert Gladstone, the Prime Minister's son, had claimed during an election rally at Leeds, that Lord Randolph Churchill and another Conservative Member named Winn had assured the Irish Nationalists that the Crimes Act would be dropped, but, in return for this, the Parnellites were to support the Conservatives on all critical Divisions in the House of Commons. Herbert Gladstone defied the Tories to get a formal denial of his claim from any of the individuals concerned. 'These gentlemen, even if they would tell a falsehood, would not dare to do so in face of the evidence and the facts.'(2)

Lord Randolph issued a statement saying, 'Mr. Herbert Gladstone's assertions are absolutely false.'(3) Mr. Winn, by this time Lord St. Oswald, insisted, 'There is not a single word of truth in the statements.'(4) Parnell also denied the suggestion, claiming that he had held 'no communication upon any of the public matters referred to except across the floor of the House of Commons.'(5) On Sir Barrington Simeon's claim, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach instructed his secretary to give 'an unqualified denial' to the statement.(6) Lord Salisbury's secretary went even further:

'I am desired by Lord Salisbury to state:

1. He has never smoked.
2. He has never been in the smoking-room of the House of Commons.
3. He has never spoken to Mr. Parnell and, as far as he knows, has never seen him. He certainly made no pact with him.
4. Sir Barrington Simeon's statements are downright untruths.'(7)

The old Catholic peer, Lord Gerard, commenting on the story, said, 'It is well known that we English Catholics are Conservatives... I do not know one who, for a moment, would entertain such an idea.'(8)

(1) The Times, 30th. October, 1885. p. 9.

(2) The Tablet, 15th. August, 1885, p.239.

(3) The Weekly Register, 15th. August, 1885.

(4) The Tablet, 15th. August, 1885. p.239.

(5) The Weekly Register, 15th. August, 1885, p.212.

(6) Ibid. 31st. October, 1885, p.212.

(7) Ibid. 31st. October, 1885, p. 568. The original rumour had it that the pact was made in the smoking-room of the House of Commons while the politicians smoked cigars and drank brandy-and-water.

(8) The Tablet, 5th. December, 1885. p. 891.

Nevertheless, it was Hicks-Beach who, in the debate on the Finance Bill, moved the Amendment opposing the increase in the price of beer and spirits. Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Childers, refused to accept the Amendment. The House divided, the Irishmen voted with the Conservatives, and the Government was defeated by fourteen votes.(1) On the next day, 9th. June, 1885, the Liberal Government resigned. Gladstone's comment was typical of his attitude towards his opponents:

'I did not calculate on Parnell and his friends...
or upon Manning and his bishops...nor would I be
under any obligation to act with Chamberlain...'(2)

Catholic interest in the electoral situation in 1885 was heightened by the operation of the new Redistribution Act (1884). Under this Act, the boundaries of the Parliamentary Divisions had been drastically altered. They were now very much smaller, and one Member of Parliament was returned from each. Many Catholics believed that in the areas of the country where there was a large Catholic population, it would be possible to return Catholic Members of Parliament. Bishop Edward Bagshawe of the Nottingham Diocese, who made no secret of his Home Rule for Ireland aspirations, had to issue a denial of 'a statement alleged by the St. James's Gazette to be current in Roman Catholic circles' that he was trying to found a Catholic Parliamentary Party. Bishop Bagshawe stated:

'The English Bishops have had no proposals submitted to them by me.....and, therefore, have not condemned any such proposal...nor has any proposal reached me from the Bishop of Salford...The Irish Parliamentary Party are nearly all Catholics.... Asked or unasked, I am sure they will use their best exertions in Parliament to save our Catholic education in England.'(3)

In May, 1885, The Tablet had printed a series of letters on the subject of 'We Catholics.' The accepted conclusion was

'We Catholics find ourselves, on the eve of the most momentous General Election in the memory of man, without the ability, collectively or as an organised body, of raising our Catholic little finger to do any good.'(4)

Later in the year, Bishop Bagshawe was writing to the Catholic press on the need for 'Political Union among Catholics.' He

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 8th. June, 1885.

(2) Gladstone's Memorandum, 6th. May, 1885. Add. Mss. 44769. British Library.

(3) The Universe, 28th. March, 1885. p.7.

(4) The Tablet. 30th. May, 1885, p. 857.

argued his case on these lines:

'The Whigs and the Radicals are committed to the support and the extension of a godless national education which threatens our very existence... The Tories have been at all times staunch supporters of an heretical and persecuting Establishment, and have resisted every measure brought in for the relief of Catholics from oppression....If Catholics are to be neither Tories, Whigs nor Radicals, it follows they must either combine among themselves exclusively or combine with their brethren in the Irish Catholic Party...That Party offers us an admirable organisation already formed...successful and triumphant beyond all expectation...Would it be right for us, their fellow-Catholics, to exclude them from our society for making so noble an effort in their country's cause?'

To Bishop Bagshawe the solution of the problem was obvious:

'...A grand union of English and Irish Catholics under the guidance of the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Irish Bishops, feeling sure that when we have helped our Irish brethren in the Faith to gain Home Rule and Christian education in Ireland, we shall, in turn, have the cordial support of all Irish Catholics, both in England and Ireland, for an English Catholic Parliamentary Party, sanctioned and encouraged by the English Hierarchy.' (1)

Support for the idea was not exactly encouraging. The Tablet was 'in hopeless and permanent disagreement' with the Bishop. 'It is our profound and settled conviction that a Catholic political party is not so much a mistake as an impossibility.' (2) When the Bishop wrote another article on the value of a Catholic Parliamentary Party, the reaction was equally discouraging:

'The proposal that all Catholics, quite regardless of what they deem to be best for the country, should follow the lead of Mr. Parnell, is one which seems to us to be quite singularly futile...'(3)

If Bishop Bagshawe could not persuade the English Catholics to unite behind the Irish Nationalists, he was determined to dissuade them from becoming ardent Conservatives. He gave his opinion that the 'Primrose League' (4) was 'a secret society, and

(1) The Tablet, 1st. August, 1885, p.178.

(2) Ibid. p. 161.

(3) Ibid. 10th. October, 1885. p. 550.

(4) Ibid. 26th. September, 1885, p. p. 497. When Disraeli, the Conservative Prime Minister from 1874 - 1880, died in 1881, Queen Victoria sent a wreath of primroses to his funeral. Membership of the Primrose League thus signified loyalty to the Crown and to the Conservative Party.

and thus closed to all Catholics.' (1) Lady Maidstone, who was a Catholic and a member of the executive committee of the League wrote to The Tablet explaining that there were two other Catholic ladies on the committee, the Duchess of Norfolk and Lady Edmund Talbot. Far from being a secret society, members of the League made no promises, and if the Bishop wished, he could buy a copy of the League's rules which were on sale to the public. (2) But the Bishop was not convinced. He was sure that the chiefs of the Primrose League would not entrust any of the League's secrets to Lady Maidstone or to 'her noble and pious colleagues.' He wrote

'I implore my fellow-Catholics to remain aloof from the Primrose League ...it is highly probable it is secretly connected with Freemasonry....it is a very dangerous thing to be in intimate alliance with and in subordination to political leaders who are heretics and Freemasons.' (3)

Cardinal Manning did not agree. He believed the ban on the League 'cannot be sustained either in Canon Law or in Moral Theology.' (4) He wrote to the Bishop 'but without effect.' The Cardinal then wrote to Cardinal Simeoni at the Vatican and asked him to write to the Bishop of Nottingham without delay. 'From the day the Bishop of N. entered the diocese, he has been in contention... The suspicion in Rome is that the Bishops of England...act with exaggerated notions of their rights and powers....It is all very sad.' (5)

However, Bishop Bagshawe had the support of one of the Irish Bishops. Bishop Nulty of Meath wrote to him expressing regret at 'the unwillingness of some English Catholics to join hands with their co-religionists in Ireland and with their representatives in Parliament to save Catholic education in their own country from being simply annihilated.' (6)

Cardinal Manning himself was very careful to stress his own political neutrality except in such cases where the welfare of the

(1) The Tablet. 26th. September, 1885. p. 497.

(2) Ibid. 3rd. October, 1885. p. 524.

(3) Ibid. 17th. October, 1885. p. 619.

(4) Manning Papers. Manning to Clifford, 16th. March, 1886.

(5) Ibid. Manning to Vaughan, 23rd. March, 1886.

(6) The Weekly Register, 28th. November, 1885. p. 695.

Church was concerned. In reply to a question as to which of two candidates a Catholic should vote for when each promised support for the voluntary schools, he answered:

'It is not unreasonable or in any way wrong to convince a voter of what we believe to be right or better, but beyond this, we have no right or duty...I always hold myself to be officially bound to neutrality...' (1)

Other Catholic Bishops were a little less restrained in their advice to the people. Bishop Edmund Knight of the Shrewsbury Diocese wrote:

'My vote will certainly be given to the Conservative candidate...The return of the Liberal Party to power means for us the re-instatement of Mr. Mundella, Mr. Chamberlain and the other enemies of denominational education, while the manifesto of Sir Richard Cross is a distinct acknowledgement of our grievances.'(2)

In a Pastoral Letter, Bishop Knight commented on Chamberlain's declaration that the law of the land ought not to tolerate a situation 'in which the so-called national schools were turned into a private preserve by clerical managers and used for the exclusive purposes of politics or religion.'(3) He said such a remark expressed 'the contempt and prejudice of its author' and should serve as a reminder of the fate reserved for the Catholic schools 'if, unhappily, he should ever have the power to give effect to his hatred of Catholic teaching.'(4)

The Bishop of Newport and Menevia, Bishop John Hedley, wrote to the Cardiff newspapers giving it as his view that the duty of Catholic voters was to support the Conservative Party. He explained:

'I think it is better that we priests should take no part in ordinary politics, but the Liberal Party refuse to give us any guarantee that our Catholic schools will not be ruined or made impossible by anti-religious legislation...Our duty to our Faith and to the religious future of our children seems to bind us at crisis to support by vote and influence the political party on whom we can depend to maintain religious schools.'(5)

(1) The Manning Papers. Manning to C.J. Munich, 11th. November, 1885.

(2) The Universe, 28th. November, 1885. p. 2.

(3) Garvin, J.L.: The Life of Joseph Chamberlain. Vol. 2. London, 1933, pp. 75 -76.

(4) The Weekly Register, 28th. November, 1885. p.658.

(5) The Tablet, 14th. November, 1885. p. 769.

Bishop William Ullathorne of the Birmingham Diocese addressed a Pastoral Letter to the Catholic people of his Diocese. In it, he outlined the injustice of the way in which the school boards were exploiting their powers. 'Free schools there cannot be; they must be established and supported by the people, by rates, by taxes or by voluntary offerings.' He reminded parents that the free school issue meant the difference between paying school fees for a few years while the children were at school, or paying a tax for education for the whole of their lives. But there was a more sinister aspect to the issue. 'If schools become free, it would be necessary to remember that the holder of the public purse holds everything that depends on the public purse, and a time might come when religious teaching in the schools could be swept away.' (1)

Bishop William Clifford of the Clifton Diocese reminded his diocesan clergy that 'the Liberals refuse to give us any guarantee that they will exert themselves to have the disadvantages under which our schools at present labour removed....Neither will they pledge themselves to resist such legislation as will tend to close the voluntary schools...On the other hand, Conservative candidates have everywhere professed their determination heartily to support the cause of the voluntary schools....Sir Richard Cross has publicly announced that the Conservative Government will at once institute an inquiry into the working of the Act of 1870It seems to me to be the duty of Catholic electors to give the support of their votes to Conservative candidates.' (2)

Support for the Conservative cause was strong in the West Country. The Prior of Downside issued a 'Monastic Manifesto' to the 'tenantry of the Downside Estate.' It urged them to 'vote to a man for that Party in the State which, as a Party, has distinctly declared itself determined to maintain the Christian education of this country ...the Party which has done this is the Conservatives, therefore, vote to a man for its representatives.' (3).

The Anglican Archdeacon of Taunton, the Reverend George Denison, was also opposed to the Liberals. He said he had known

(1) The Universe, 28th. November, 1885. p.2.

(2) The Tablet, 21st. November, 1885, p. 872.

(3) Ibid. 5th. December, 1885.

Mr. Gladstone for forty-five years, 'and I would not trust him with a brass farthing.'(1) But when the Archdeacon told a meeting at Taunton, 'You might as well cheer the devil as Mr. Gladstone,' there was 'a great disturbance' during which 'several ladies fainted,' and 'several free fights occurred.'(2)

Bishop Herbert Vaughan of Salford Diocese(3) addressed a letter on the schools question to his clergy. The Bishop said that although the Church was not opposed to free education, it was opposed to State despotism. 'The State can give nothing gratuitously....Mr. Chamberlain's free education means an enormous increase in the public burden.' The Bishop reminded his people that when they voted, they were 'settling the question of religious liberty and Christian education for generations to come.'(4)

Bishop Edmund Knight of Shrewsbury Diocese wrote to his clergy setting out a 'Statement of Grievances under the Present School Board System.' He listed the grievances of the voluntary schools under six headings, and stressed that, with these grievances in mind, it was important for Catholic people to put Cardinal Manning's questions to any candidate asking for their votes.(5)

Bishop Arthur Riddell of Northampton Diocese wrote to his people on the issue. In a Pastoral Letter he expressed the opinion that 'had the people of England realised the godlessness of the Act of 1870, that Act would never have been passed.' He quoted Forster's promises, made in 1870, that the board schools were to supplement the voluntary schools, not to supplant them, and that 'no stigma of pauperism' would attach to an application to the Board of Guardians for the payment of school fees. In addition to the two questions which Cardinal Manning had suggested should be put to candidates seeking Catholic votes, Bishop Riddell said candidates should be asked, 'Will you endeavour to remove all the inequalities attached to voluntary schools?'(6)

(1) The Weekly Register, 14th. November, 1885, p. 617. The Archdeacon was well-known for his extreme views. He was twice prosecuted, unsuccessfully, in the civil courts between 1854 and 1858, for teaching the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist.

(2) The Universe, 21st. November, 1885, p. 3.

(3) He succeeded Cardinal Manning at Westminster in 1892.

(4) The Universe, 21st. November, 1885, p.5.

(5) The Tablet, 19th. September, 1885, pp. 469 - 470.

(6) The Universe, 21st. November, 1885, p.2.

Bishop Richard Lacey of Middlesborough Diocese, preaching in his Cathedral, strongly condemned Mr. Chamberlain, whom he regarded as the leader of the English Radicals. 'Such men sought to persecute Catholics by driving their children into board schools without religious education.' But he ended his sermon by expressing his hope that the congregation would live to see 'Parliamentary institutions in Ireland,' and 'Ireland given the right to legislate for herself,' sentiments which must have left the congregation in some doubt as to whether they should vote for the schools or for Irish Home Rule.(1)

Cardinal Newman, now in his 85th. year, preached at the Birmingham Oratory on 15th. November, 1885. He urged his congregation to support the Hierarchy in their stand for the schools, and to put Cardinal Manning's two questions to any candidate seeking their support. He asked Catholic parents to see that religious education for their children took precedence over all other education. He went so far as to suggest that parents had no right to bring their children to be baptised if they had no intention of giving them a Christian education.(2)

When Lord Salisbury spoke at Newport on 7th. October, 1885, Bishop John Medley and the Duke of Norfolk shared the platform with him. Lord Salisbury claimed that 'the religious education which Mr. Morley wants to get rid of'(3) was 'one of our most cherished privileges.' He would extend this freedom of religious education to 'the Nonconformists of Wales or the Roman Catholics of Ireland.' Whatever form of Christianity or whatever church people belonged to, they should be given 'the opportunity to educate their people in the belief of Christianity they profess.'(4)

(1) The Universe, 7th. November, 1885, p.2.

(2) Ibid. 21st. November, 1885, p.5. On p. 7 of the issue of 24th. October, 1885, there was a news item in which a Mr. R.H. Milward of the Church Defence Association, addressing a meeting at Bromsgrove, claimed that he had received a message from Cardinal Newman in which the Cardinal said he 'looked up to the Church of England as the great bulwark against atheism,' and that 'he, and those with him, would resist any attack against that Church.' The Cardinal denied that he had sent a message to anyone. (The Universe, 31st. October, 1885, p.5) He wrote, 'I know how difficult it is, once a statement gets into the papers to get it out of them.' (The Tablet, 31st. October, 1885, p.700.)

(3) John Morley later challenged Lord Salisbury to produce 'one single sentence ...which would bear such construction.' (The Weekly Register, 7th. November, 1885, p.586.

(4) The Tablet, 10th. October, 1885, p. 566.

The Tablet's comment was:

'After this most satisfactory declaration, it is surely inconceivable that anyone who holds religious education to be the paramount consideration which should guide his vote should hesitate as to how he ought to give it at the coming election.....The fearless words of the Tory chief in defence of our great Catholic interest will win him thousands of grateful votes in the day of trial.'(1)

Bishop Bagshawe's last word before the election was:

'I think the most prudent course for Catholics is to give their votes in such a manner as may best strengthen the hands of the Irish Party in Parliament....and to wait for the opinion of Mr. Parnell and the gentlemen with whom he acts since these will be best able to judge.'(2)

The manifesto of Sir Richard Cross, to which Bishop Knight and Bishop Clifford had referred, was in a speech made by Sir Richard at Widnes. He said that the Act of 1870 had not worked well in many respects, and the voluntary schools were suffering very greatly from many of its provisions. He was able to announce 'to this assembly, and to the whole of England, that it was the intention of the Government at once to appoint a Commission to inquire into the position of the voluntary schools and the operation of the Act of 1870....The Government would be prepared to introduce a measure dealing with the subject if the inquiry showed it to be necessary.'(3) Lord Hartington, speaking at Rossendale, also suggested that 'the time has come when an inquiry into the Education Act of 1870, which has conferred great benefits on the country, may be usefully undertaken.'(4)

In a series of articles in The Tablet, the Irish Member, Bernard Charles Molloy,(5) cautioned Catholics against confusing the issues of free education and the general injustice under which the Catholic schools were suffering. 'The free school issue is

(1) The Tablet, 10th. October, 1885, p. 558, p. 565.

(2) The Universe, 28th. November, 1885. p.3. The timing of the announcement is significant. The Parnell Manifesto, which advised Catholics not to vote for Liberals, except in certain named cases, was published on 23rd. November.

(3) The Tablet. 14th. November, 1885. p. 769.

(4) The Weekly Register, 7th. November, 1885. p.585.

(5) Molloy was originally the second Catholic representative on the Cross Commission when it was established in 1885. He resigned from the Commission in 1887, and Cardinal Manning invited the Duke of Norfolk to take his place on the Commission. See Appendix 3, p.404.

outside the main question of equal rights and equal money aids between board schools and voluntary schools. (1) It was part of Molloy's case that 'no man is justified in paying a tax or rate in the benefits accruing from which he has no share.' But he also emphasised that, in return for further money aid, the voluntary schools would have to concede the right of inspection, and 'not only the Government inspection now in force, but also any other supervision, local or otherwise, which can, in reason, be demanded.' (2)

It cannot be questioned that the result of the 1885 General Election was of the utmost importance for the survival of the Catholic schools. During the five years of Liberal rule, from 1880 to 1885, expenditure, per child in average attendance, had increased from 42s. to 45s. in board schools, while the corresponding figure for the voluntary schools was from 31s. to 33s. (3) In 1880, Catholic schools were actually earning more in grants under the 'payment by results' scheme then in force than the board schools. The actual figures were 165d. in the Catholic schools and 157d. in the board schools. But by 1885, the position was reversed. Board schools were earning 195d., Catholic schools were earning 192d. (4) A further five years of Liberal rule could well have made the position of the voluntary schools in general, and the Catholic schools in particular quite impossible. During the election campaign, the Radical proposal that all elementary schools should provide free education, presented the Catholics with the possibility of losing about 28% of their income. (5) Free schools would have made little difference to the board schools since the money lost from fees could be made up by an increase in the amount of the school rate.

There was a large body of opinion in the country which considered the cry of free schools to be an electioneering ploy. An article in The Weekly Register (6) admitted that the cry had a seductive sound, but it was only a sound. 'The only free thing

(1) The Tablet, 24th. October, 1885, p. 643.

(2) Ibid. 26th. September, 1885. p. 483.

(3) See Diagram I, p. 18.

(4) See Diagram 4, p. 30.

(5) School fees varied from 1d. to 3d, per week, with the Board of Guardians paying the fees of necessitous children. In 1885, out of a total Catholic school budget of £282,382 in Catholic schools, £81,520 came from school pence. (Source: Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1885 - 6, p.235.) See Diagram 6, p.104.

(6) The Weekly Register, 19th. September, 1885. p.369.

about it will be that the rate-payers will be free to pay a rate enormously in excess of that which is now levied - or go to prison.' 'A layman far advanced in his eighth decade' writing to The Weekly Register from Hanley Castle in Worcestershire, suggested that Catholics should refuse to pay the school rate unless they were allowed to nominate the school to which the rate should be paid. 'When the prisons are full of devoted and faithful Christian men and women, who obey God rather than men, then, by God's help, the victory will be won.'(1)

The Tablet regarded the cry for free schools as a 'euphemistic and elliptical way of saying, 'schooling at other peoples' expense.'(2) A Jesuit priest from Chesterfield, Fr. James Splaine, produced a pamphlet on the free schools issue which was widely circulated during the controversy.(3) Fr. Splaine warned Catholics not to be cajoled by those who say 'the State' should pay for this or that, 'as if the State were some private old gentleman with more money than he knew what to do with..... The State is the people, the State is you, and when the State pays, you pay, directly or indirectly.' Similarly, in a speech at Bristol, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach reminded his audience that 'a golden shower will not drop from the skies - the money must come out of the pockets of the people.'(4)

The Tablet quoted the example of the Catholic schools in the Diocese of Salford as an example of the situation which would arise if schools were made free. There were 37,000 children on the registers of the Catholic schools. Of these, 23,000 paid their fees without any difficulty. 14,000 were unable to pay or paid only by sacrificing some of the necessities of life.

'The right remedy would seem to be, not to relieve the 23,000 who can pay with ease, but to help the necessitous 14,000 to get their fees paid for them without being subjected to the degradation of an appeal to the authorities of the workhouse.'(5)

The extreme Radicals made no secret of their intentions to make education free. For example, Labouchere, in a speech to his constituents at Northampton, advocated 'completely free education..

(1) The Weekly Register, 28th. November, 1885, p. 699.

(2) The Tablet. 15th. August, 1885. p.243.

(3) Splaine, Rev. J.F.: 'All is not Gold that Glitters' Catholic Truth Society. London. 1885.

(4) The Weekly Register, 7th. November, 1885. p.585.

(5) The Tablet 17th. October, 1885. p.605.

... to voluntary schools I would give no species of aid .' (1)
 In a speech at Camberwell, Labouchere advocated 'taking every shilling away from the Church of England and giving the money for the purpose of free education. (2)

But such an attitude was not that of all Radicals. When Chamberlain wrote to A.J. Mundella, expressing the hope that they would be able 'to sweep the country with free education and allotments...the Tories will be smashed and the Whigs extinguished,' (3) Mundella's reply advised caution:

'It is a fact that some of my best supporters, who are Radical on other questions, are not yet convinced about free schools...The ratepayers in the large towns are so poor just now that they are frightened out of their wits at the prospects of increased demands for education.' (4)

Even in Chamberlain's home territory, Birmingham, there were Liberals who were opposed to the free schools proposals. The editor of the Birmingham Daily Post, J.T. Bunce, wrote to Chamberlain, 'I think it would be disastrous now to endeavour to destroy the voluntary schools.' (5) Gladstone was not in favour of the proposal, at least, not at that time. In his Midlothian Manifesto, he questioned the desirability of the State providing free education when such things could be done better by voluntary effort. 'It would be premature in me to endeavour to press forward generally the subject of gratuitous primary education.' (6)

It was known that Cardinal Manning was opposed to free schooling on principle, because 'it transferred the duty of education from the parent to the State.' When the Act of 1891 was passed, giving all schools a grant of 10s. per child per year on condition that no fees were charged, the Cardinal described the grant as 'blood money.' (7)

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- (1) The Weekly Register, 7th. November, 1885, p. 586. Labouchere was one of the Liberal candidates named in the Parnell Manifesto for whom Irishmen could vote.
- (2) Ibid. 14th. November, 1885. p. 616.
- (3) Chamberlain to Mundella, 7th. October, 1885. Quoted in 'The Unauthorised Programme,' English Historical Review, October, 1950. p.486.
- (4) Mundella to Chamberlain, 11th. October, 1885. Ibid. p.487.
- (5) Birmingham Daily Post, 2nd October, 1885.
- (6) Quoted in The Weekly Register, 26th. September, 1885. p.393.
- (7) Leslie, Sir. S. : 'Virginia Crawford, Sir Charles Dilke and Cardinal Manning,' The Dublin Review, August, 1967, p. 196.

Lord Salisbury felt he would hesitate 'before I gave every subject of the Queen, whether rich or poor, the right to have his children educated at public expense....I think it will be some time before taxpayers will agree to such a proposition.'(1) But the Hon. Charles Russell, contesting Hackney South for the Liberals, well-known as a member of the Catholic Poor School Committee, supported free education. He considered it

'a measure which shall relieve the poor of this direct tax, charging it upon national resources, and making primary education free education.....I see nothing in such a measure which any true friend of education should dread or deplore...'(2)

The interesting thing about Russell's statement is the assumption that free education would become a charge upon the national resources. It is by no means certain that this was what Chamberlain had in mind. In an open letter to him, the Dean of Wells had asked him to say

'whether you propose that the voluntary schools should be helped out of the rates to the same extent, or whether board and voluntary schools should receive larger Government Grants than at present, based upon average attendance...'(3)

In his reply, Chamberlain stressed that he believed 'all schools, voluntary as well as board, should be at once made free.' To meet the cost, an additional Grant should be made from the Consolidated Fund. This Grant could be based either on capitation or on results. But he went on to say that the position of the voluntary schools was 'quite anomalous' and there would have to be some popular control of the schools during school hours.(4) If this control was to be in the nature of a 'quid pro quo' then clearly the Catholic schools could not agree to it. It was this aspect of the question which was causing so much disquiet in the minds of the Catholic Hierarchy.

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh wrote to The Tablet(5) thus:

'Is it possible for long to delay a change which comes home to every poor voter? Are we to resist this movement in view of the possible dangers it may bring to our schools, or are we ourselves to raise the banner of free education, and demand as our share of the victory, that all schools should be made free?'

(1) The Weekly Register, 10th. October, 1885. p. 457.

(2) Ibid. 14th. November, 1885. p. 619.

(3) The Times, 13th. October, 1885.

(4) Ibid.

(5) The Tablet, 10th. October, 1885. p. 563. The Cliffords were an old Catholic family from the West Country. Lord Clifford's brother was Bishop of Clifton.

An editorial in The Weekly Register echoed Lord Clifford's statement:

'There is nothing about a Free School any more than a Free Church which is abhorrent to Catholic principles and practice...the old foundation schools established in Catholic times provided education without charge.. Catholic schools admit a larger proportion of children without fees than any other class of school...We cannot stop the demand for free schools, we cannot impede the board schools on the road to freedom from fees. Whether we like it or not, board schools are becoming free schools, and the competition we dread is upon us...The path of wisdom is, while there is yet time, to negotiate a favourable and just treaty for Catholic and other voluntary schools.'(1)

One of the benefits claimed for free schooling was that the attendance figures would improve if parents no longer had to give their children the school pence.(2) But there were doubts expressed about this. A letter in The Tablet suggested that free schools might aggravate another grievance:

'With the great majority of the working classes, the payment of school fees is not a serious matter. Their grievance lies in compulsory education preventing their children from earning wages...If school fees were abolished, this grievance would be aggravated rather than otherwise...If education were universally free, the magistrates would enforce the provisions of the law with regard to attendance much more rigorously than they do now.'(3)

Cardinal Manning worked tirelessly in his efforts to use the Catholic vote to preserve the schools. A long article he wrote for The Dublin Review was reprinted in the national press.(4) The Cardinal's appeal was for the preservation of Christian education, rather than for that of Catholic schools alone. He based his case on the claim that 'the children of a Christian people are confided by God to a two-fold authority, that of the parents and of the Church.' This being the case, he claimed that 'the education of children of Christian parents must be Christian and in Christian schools...All will do well at the coming Parliamentary election, when canvassed for their votes, to ask the two following questions:

1. Will you do your best to place the voluntary schools on an equal footing with the board schools?

(1) The Weekly Register, 17th. October, 1885, p. 498.

(2) The Dean of Wells claimed that children stayed away from school because the parents could not afford fees. (The Times, 13th. October, 1885.

(3) The Tablet, 19th. August, 1885.p. 471.

(4) 'How shall Catholics vote at the Coming Parliamentary Election?'

2. Will you do your utmost to obtain a Royal Commission to review the present state of education in England and Wales, and especially the Act of 1870 and its administration by the school boards?.....
 As they answer 'yes' or 'no' let us decide.....
 A people reared without Christianity will soon become anti-Christian.' (1)

In a series of sermons delivered at the Pro-Cathedral in Kensington during the month of October, Cardinal Manning explained in detail how the situation in which the voluntary schools found themselves had come about:

'Down to the year 1870, there was no education in England that was not Christian. The national education of England was supplied by the voluntary effort of those who believed that Christianity is the life of the soul....Now we have come, for the first time in the history of England, to the point where the two roads lead asunder...We have to choose which of these two roads we will take...whether we shall take the old beaten and traditional path of Christian England, or whether we shall strike off, for the first time, on a new path opened to us some fourteen years ago.' (2)

On 7th. November, 1885, The Times printed a lengthy letter from the Catholic Hierarchy. The letter contained seven points for consideration in resolving the schools problem. Although allowing that the State had the right to insist on the compulsory education of children, the Bishops insisted that it would be an invasion of the rights of parents to dictate the type of religious education which would form part of such compulsory education. Even so, poor Catholic children were compelled by law to attend schools to which their parents had conscientious objections, or to suffer humiliation in order to be able to attend Catholic schools. After detailing the existing inequalities between the treatment of the board schools and the voluntary schools, the Bishops ended their letter thus:

'The Catholic Bishops cannot confide in any candidate for a seat in Parliament who will not engage himself to do his utmost to redress these present glaring inequalities.' (3)

The Times, in an editorial, criticised the letter from the Catholic Bishops. The Bishops were accused of expressing them-

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- (1) The Dublin Review, October, 1885. 'How shall Catholics vote at the coming Parliamentary Election.'
 - (2) The Weekly Register, 17th. October, 1885. pp. 485 - 6.
 - (3) The Times, 2nd. November, 1885.

selves 'with the frankness of partisans.' The editorial went on:

'They want endowment for their Catholic schools and they are not afraid to set aside altogether the larger duties, and to counsel their co-religionists to determine their political action by that one, single, self-regarding issue....The Archbishops of Canterbury and York would have over-stepped their sphere and forgotten their true relationship to the English people had they attempted to indicate specifically the line of conduct to be pursued with reference to any concrete question.'(1)

The Tablet was quick to come to the defence of the Hierarchy:

'It is futile and unfair to dismiss this weighty document as The Times dismisses it, with the remark 'the Bishops express themselves with the frankness of partisans,' and 'they want endowment for the Roman Catholic schools.' This is a very inadequate statement of the Bishops' position... The Catholic Bishops have made no special claim for our schools, no claim for endowment.... What they have claimed, they have claimed for all Christian schools....by whatsoever name they are called.'(2)

Polling took place between 23rd. November and 19th. December. The Tablet had published the names of the candidates to whom the Cardinal's questions had been put, and the answers given were listed as satisfactory or unsatisfactory. Satisfactory answers were in a majority of about two to one, and were mainly, but not entirely from the Conservative candidates. (3) Then, on 23rd. November, the day polling began, the 'Parnell Manifesto' appeared and was widely reported in the national press.(4) The Manifesto made a devastating attack on the Liberal Party, describing it as 'a cowardly, servile, unprincipled herd.' The Party was accused of 'menacing the Established Church,' and 'under the name of free schools had made an insidious attempt to crush the religious education of the country.' Such was the Liberal Party that 'no Irishman worthy of the name would vote for a Liberal or a Radical candidate in the election.' Exemptions from this ban were made for four Liberal candidates who had opposed the passing of the Crimes Bill in 1882. They were Samuel Storey (Sunderland), Joseph Cowan (Newcastle upon Tyne), Thomas Thompson (Durham) and Henry Labouchere (Northampton). Certainly, none of the four could be described as supporters of the voluntary schools. In addition

(1) The Times, 2nd. November, 1885.

(2) The Tablet, 7th. November, 1885. p.721.

(3) Ibid. 21st. November, 1885. p.820

(4) For some of the background to the Parnell Manifesto, see Appendix 2, p. 402.

two other candidates for whom Irishmen could vote were named. They were Captain William O'Shea (Liverpool, Exchange) and Lloyd Jones (Chester - le - Street).

When the excitement of the polls had died down and the votes were counted, it became clear that neither Conservatives nor Liberals would have an overall majority. Although there were 333 Liberals returned, the 251 Conservatives allied with the 86 Irish Nationalists would have a slim majority over them in the House of Commons. Thus, the Catholic vote, in the shape of the Irish Members, was of the utmost importance to the Conservatives. There were only four Catholics returned for constituencies outside Ireland. They were T.P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland), the Hon. Charles Russell (Hackney, South), Colonel Blundell (Ince, Lancashire) and D.H. Macfarlane (Oban). In Liverpool, where Catholic sentiment was believed to be very strong, two prominent Catholics were defeated. They were John Redmond and Captain O'Shea. O'Shea was defeated by only 55 votes. Redmond was later returned for Wexford, and became the leader of the Irish Party after Parnell's downfall.

The question must arise as to what part the Catholic vote had played in the election. Three of the Liberals mentioned in the Parnell Manifesto, Cowen, Labouchere and Storey were elected. The fourth, Thompson, was defeated. There were other exceptions to the Manifesto ban on voting for Liberals. In the Gorton Division of Manchester, the Liberal candidate who was a friend of the parish priest, and in favour of support for the voluntary schools, was returned, in spite of a last-minute visit by O'Connor to the constituency. O'Connor wrote to Parnell:

'The cup of Irish shame and disaster in Gorton has received its last drop...The band of the Irish National League played through Gorton to celebrate the victory of a Liberal...' (1)

O'Day (2) suggests that the Conservatives were not entirely happy about the support of the Irish Members:

'In 1885, the Conservative leaders considered Irish support a dubious blessing...Nobody was prepared to sacrifice much to gain Parnellite support in the British constituencies...The Parnell Party may have

(1) Howard, C.H.D.: 'The Parnell Manifesto of 1885 and the Schools Question,' The English Historical Review, January, 1947. pp. 42-51. Howard suggests that Cardinal Manning's opposition to Home Rule was partly due to his fear that the removal of the Irish Members from Westminster would weaken Catholic influence. (n. p 46)

(2) O'Day, A.: The English Face of Irish Nationalism London. 1977. p. 111.

been able to decide the result in a large number of British constituencies in a rather different manner than Parnell believed.'

Probably, no single factor controlled the Irish/Catholic vote in the 1885 election. The Irish vote might well have appeared strong in theory, but many Irish people may have been unable to vote simply because of some franchise regulation. For example, a family in receipt of poor relief, and many Irish families were, would not be allowed a vote. Families living in rooming-houses who failed to qualify as householders could not vote. Many Irish families were constantly on the move, following the work that was available, and would not qualify under the one-year residence rule. This mobility might well have accounted for the experience of a London branch of the National Irish League in 1886. The branch sent out 541 registration notices, but only 100 of the intended recipients could be traced.(1) The reasons outlined above might explain why many areas of Salford, Manchester and Liverpool, although having large Irish populations, had a small proportion of Irish voters. In an area where there was a large minority of Irish people, a group which the native population saw as a potential threat to their employment prospects, there would be a tendency for the native population to vote against whatever party the Irish were supporting. In 1874, Gladstone had conceded that 'Probably for every R.C. vote gained, we lose several Protestants.'(2) Pelling (3) quotes the case of the Falkirk district of Glasgow which had the largest Irish minority in the area, but, in 1885, returned a Liberal.

Of course, there were constituencies in which personalities influenced the results. The Conservative Orangeman who contested one Glasgow seat was unlikely to get many Irish votes.(4) The Tory candidate in York described the Irish as 'yelping curs' so it was unlikely that they would rush to vote for him.(5) Parnell had claimed in 1883 that his Party could decide the fate of 97 seats outside Ireland, but this figure was greatly exaggerated. So too, was his claim in 1886 that 40 English Tories held their seats because the Irish community suffered them to do so.(6) Contemporary Liberal

(1) O'Day, A.: The English Face of Irish Nationalism. London, 1977. p. 112.

(2) Ibid. p. 111.

(3) Pelling, H.: The Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910 London. 1967. p.404. Liberals won all seven Glasgow seats in 1885.

(4) O'Day. op. cit. p. 111.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Morley, J.: The Life of W.E. Gladstone. 3 vol. London. 1903. V.3, p.244.

opinion in 1885 estimated that between 25 and 40 Tory seats had been won as a result of Parnell's advice to vote against the Liberals.(1) Howard (2) suggests that

'The effect of the clergy's advice to vote against the enemies of the voluntary schools was nearly, but not quite the same as Parnell's order to vote against all Liberals and Radicals.'

However, these were the two reasons why the votes should be cast against the Liberals, and the Party ended up with 17 fewer seats than they had in the previous Parliament.

The Catholic vote gave many defeated candidates an excuse for defeat. Childers, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal Government, lost his seat at Pontefract after 25 years as the Member. He blamed his defeat on the Irish vote.(3) Parnell was portrayed as the evil genius behind the loss of so many seats when 'the real causes were more complex.'(4) McClelland(5) is of the opinion that the Irish vote played a large part in the result of the election, but how far the Irish were influenced by Manning and how far by Parnell's Manifesto 'it is impossible to say with certainty.' McClelland is also of the opinion that the Cardinal 'wished to teach the Liberals a lesson for meddling in the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland.' Perhaps it is best to leave the last word with Lord Salisbury's daughter, Gwendolen. She expressed the view that the effect which the Manifesto had upon the result of the election remained a secret of the ballot box. (6)

(1) Morley, J.: The Life of W.E. Gladstone. 3 vol. London. 1903. Vol.3, p.244.

(2) Howard, C.H.D. 'The Parnell Manifesto of 1885 and the Schools Question.' English Historical Review, January, 1947.p. 49.

(3) O'Day, A. : The English Face of Irish Nationalism, London, 1977. p. 112.

(4) Ibid.

(5) McClelland, V.A. Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence, 1865 - 1892. Oxford. 1962. pp. 84 - 85.

(6) Cecil, D.: Lord Salisbury. 3 vol. London. 1948 Vol.3, p. 272.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION 'TO INQUIRE INTO THE WORKING OF THE EDUCATION ACTS, ENGLAND AND WALES.' (1)

Shortly before the General Election, Cardinal Manning had written to Lord Salisbury:

'The Act of 1870 was founded on a false basis, and was carried by false pretences, and ...to redress' great injustice and to avert great danger, the whole ought to be brought under review once more...' (2)

Lord Salisbury replied to the Cardinal when the results of the polling were being made known, and it seemed likely that there would be no landslide victory for the Conservatives:

'I agree very much with what you say about the Act, only differing from you when you say the power is in my hands to protect our Christian and voluntary schools.....I have every desire to do so, but, alas! there are strong grounds for being sceptical as to my power...' (3)

But with the undertakings given in public by Sir Richard Cross and Lord Hartington that an inquiry into the working of the Act of 1870 would be established, and the favourable reply to the two questions which all Catholic voters were asked to put to candidates seeking their votes, it would have been difficult for the Prime Minister to avoid going ahead with the setting up of the Commission. In fact, before the final results of the polling were known, he had instructed the President of the Council, Lord Cranbrook, to start work on preparing the Commission. (4)

Lord Cranbrook faced a formidable task. Both in Parliament and at the local level, opinion had been sharply divided on the issue of giving rate aid to voluntary schools over which there was to public control. But since the ratio of scholars attending the public elementary schools was 2 : 1 in favour of the voluntary schools (5), the continued existence of the voluntary schools was an absolute necessity. Yet, if the members of the Royal Commission were to be selected in proportion to this 2 : 1 ratio, the findings of the Commission were likely to be a foregone conclusion. On the other hand, if supporters of the board schools and of the

(1) These were the terms of reference of the Cross Commission.

(2) The Manning Papers, Manning to Lord Salisbury, 1st. Nov. 1885.

(3) Ibid. Salisbury to Manning, 13th. December, 1885.

(4) Lord Cranbrook had written to the Cardinal on 8th. Dec. 1885. See p. 74.

(5) 2,183,870 attended voluntary schools, 1,187,455 attended board schools. (Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1885 - 86. p. 210.)

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voluntary schools were appointed in equal numbers to the Commission, the supporters of the voluntary schools, who had contributed huge sums of money in voluntary contributions to such schools(1) could well feel that they were being unfairly treated.

In the debate on the Queen's Speech in the new Parliament, the Government was accused by Mr. Illingworth of 'having hastened most indecently to avail itself of every opportunity of perpetrating a job.' He presumed that, from the haste with which the Government had acted in establishing the Royal Commission on the working of the Education Acts, 'their confidence of remaining in power for a long time was not very great.' After making a plea for equality in numbers 'of men known to favour either side' in the make-up of the Commission, Illingworth ended by saying that if ever the education controversy was re-opened, he, and those who thought with him, 'would not feel themselves bound by the verdict of a packed Commission.'(2)

Illingworth was correct in his presumption that the Government would not remain long in office. On 26th. January, 1886, four days after the Illingworth speech, when the debate on the Queen's Speech was still in progress, the Government was defeated on an Amendment regretting that the Speech made no mention of proposals to improve the lot of the agricultural labourers.(3) The Irish Nationalists, who had denounced the Liberals so vigorously during the election campaign, now voted with them. The voting was 329 to 250, leaving the Government no option but to resign. The Government's only achievement in its short life was the establishing of the Education Commission. Ironically, when the Liberal Government introduced its promised Government of Ireland Bill in the following June, the Liberal Unionists voted with the Conservatives, and the Liberal Government was defeated. So it was that when the Report of the Cross Commission was published in 1888, a Conservative Government was in office, but dependent on the support of the Liberal Unionists who were adamantly opposed to any further assistance for the voluntary schools.

(1) In the ten years prior to 1885, voluntary contributions to the National Society and Church of England schools amounted to £5,922,387; voluntary contributions to the Catholic schools in the same period amounted to £542,926. On the basis of the amount per child in average attendance, the National Society/C.of E. figure was 7s. and the Catholic figure 6s.8d. (Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1885-6, pp.234-5.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 22nd. January, 1886. cc.244-5.

(3) Ibid. 26th. January, 1866. c.443.

Meanwhile, Lord Cranbrook had written to Cardinal Manning:

'I do not yet know whether we may be able to
------(1) a Royal Commission into the working
of the Education Acts, but, if we should, would it be
agreeable to you to serve upon it?.....Perhaps you
would rather choose to suggest someone who would
accurately represent your view...'(2)

Apparently, the Cardinal did not reply to Lord Cranbrook immediately, but wrote instead to Thurston Holland, the Vice-President of the Council, suggesting the name of a Catholic Member of Parliament, Bernard Charles Molloy,(3) as a suitable representative on the Commission. Holland replied to the Cardinal saying that 'I had already suggested to Lord Cranbrook the name of Mr. Molloy, as I had noted from his speeches in the House of Commons . . the interest he took in education.'(4)

Oddly enough, a week had elapsed and the Cardinal had not replied to Lord Cranbrook. He wrote in his diary, 16th. December, 1885,

'I was disappointed at not hearing from Cardinal Manning yesterday, as it delays my forming the Education Commission...I have already written to several..(5)

On the following day he wrote:

'The composition of the Royal Commission troubles me as I have been busy with letters and otherwise...
The delay of the Archbishop's reply stays my hand...(6)

But by 20th. December, much had been settled. Cranbrook wrote to Mundella, inviting him to serve on the Commission. He gave Mundella the names of some of his fellow-Commissioners:

'Cardinal Manning; Dr. Rigg; Canon Gregory; Mr. Alderson (late Inspector); Rev. J.C.D. Morse; Mr. Heller (Teachers); Dr. R.W. Dale; Sir John Lubbock; Lord Harrowby (probably); Lord Beauchamp.'(7)

(1) The word is quite illegible in the manuscript.

(2) The Manning Papers, Cranbrook to Manning, 8th. December, 1885.

(3) Some details of Molloy's career are given in Appendix 3, p.404.

(4) The Manning Papers, Holland to Manning, 9th. December, 1885.

(5) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy ed. Johnson, N. Oxford, 1981.
Entry for 16th. December, 1885.

(6) Ibid. Entry for 17th. December, 1885.

(7) The Mundella Papers, Cranbrook to Mundella, 20th. December, 1885.

Lord Cranbrook added that 'some more Members of Parliament would be included, probably Mr. Talbot(1) and Mr. Rathbone.'(2) It is of interest that Molloy's name is not included, although Cranbrook had known for some days that Molloy would be a member. When Mundella replied to the invitation to serve on the Commission, he was not exactly enthusiastic in his response:

'The names given are, with two exceptions, very pronounced in the direction of more money for less work....The whole composition of the Commission will be regarded as highly denominational, unless you introduce more Nonconformists.'(3)

This, of course, was precisely what Cranbrook did not want to do. He wrote to Mundella by return:

'If more Nonconformists are added, the Roman Catholics will press for another Commissioner, and, with only one, it may be said that they are not adequately represented.'(4)

Why Cranbrook should have chosen to keep quiet about the second Catholic Commissioner who had already been appointed is not clear, unless he felt that if more Nonconformists were added, the Catholics would want additional Commissioners. Mundella did become a member of the Commission for a short time but he resigned in February, 1886. Molloy also took very little part in the working of the Commission and resigned in June, 1887. His place was taken by the Duke of Norfolk, Chairman of the Catholic Poor School Committee.

The Cardinal wrote to Bishop Clifford of the Clifton Diocese(5) and commented on his fellow-Commissioners thus:

'The other members are: Mr. Mundella; Dr. Rigg (Wesleyan but sound); Dr. Dale of Birmingham (unsound); Mr. Alderson (sound); Uncertain: Lord Beauchamp; Lord Harrowby; Bishop Temple. The denominationalists are in a great majority.'

Again, Molloy's name is not mentioned, and the Cardinal must have known that Canon Gregory had been appointed.

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- (1) J.G. Talbot, Member for Oxford University, not to be confused with Edmund Talbot, M.P. for Chichester in the 1905 Parliament.
 - (2) The Liberal Candidate in 1880 and a Liverpool School Board Member.
 - (3) The Mundella Papers, Mundella to Cranbrook, 21st. December, 1885. Presumably, the two exceptions were Dr. Dale and Rev. J.C.D. Morse.
 - (4) Ibid. Cranbrook to Mundella, 22nd. December, 1885.
 - (5) Clifton Diocesan Archives, Manning to Clifford, 28th. December, 1885. See Appendix 4, p.405 for some details of Dr. Dale.

Lord Cranbrook's next problem was to find a Chairman for the Commission. Lord Harrowby had declined the post, although he agreed to serve as a member of the Commission. Bishop Temple offered to act as Chairman 'if pressed,'(1) but in view of the denominational differences between the groups making up the Commission, clearly it seemed undesirable to have an Anglican Bishop as Chairman. On 5th. January, 1886, Lord Cranbrook was able to record in his diary, 'Cross takes the chair of the Royal Commission, I hope all will go well with it.'(2)

From the outset, such hopes were doomed to disappointment. the gap between the supporters of the board schools and the supporters of the voluntary schools was as wide, or even wider, when the Commission finished its hearings as it was at the start. 'Time had done nothing to assuage the old antagonisms.'(3) The Liberal-Nonconformist group looked on the whole of the proceedings with the greatest suspicion. The School Board Chronicle regarded the setting-up of the Commission as:

'...the outcome of a demand formulated by Cardinal Manning(4) and backed by the Anglican Church Party. It is an enquiry granted by Lord Salisbury for the purpose of bringing about, if possible, greater subventions of public money, and increased privileges to the denominational schools.'(5)

The divisions between the members of the Commission meant that there was very little change in the circumstances of the Catholic elementary schools. These divisions effectively blocked any attempt to improve the situation. But this should not obscure the importance of the Commission in the development of the Catholic schools. The Cardinal's insistence that any candidate seeking the Catholic vote would have to support the setting-up of the Commission demonstrated to the new Catholics that their influence was important. Poor and oppressed they may have been, but they now had votes which they could use in the struggle to defend the Catholic schools. The Cardinal and one other Catholic representative were

(1) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, ed. Johnson, N. Oxford, 1981. Entry for 21st. December, 1885.

(2) Ibid. Entry for 5th. January, 1886.

(3) Cruickshank, M.A.: 'Church and State in English Education', London, 1963. p. 59.

(4) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, 15th. July, 1885, records a meeting with Canon Gregory who raised the issue of a Royal Commission for the first time.

(5) Quoted in The Tablet, 23rd. January, 1886. p. 150.

invited to serve on it. In all, there were seven ministers of religion of the various denominations among the 22 Commissioners. It has to be remembered that 25 years earlier, a Royal Commission inquiring into 'the State of Popular Education in England' (1.) had only six Commissioners in addition to the Chairman, and none of these were ministers of any denomination, even though virtually all the elementary schools at the time were denominational schools. Thus, for the Catholic community, the real significance of the Cross Commission was that it was actually set up and there were two Catholic representatives upon it. If the growth of the Catholic elementary schools was one of the phenomena of the quarter of a century which elapsed between the two Commissions, it was clear that the two main political parties would have to take Catholic opinion into account in any future education legislation. The Catholic elementary schools which the new Catholics had founded and maintained by their voluntary efforts had, by 1888, become a force to be reckoned with. (2)

- (1) The Newcastle Commission was set up in 1858, and reported in 1861. It was the first comprehensive survey of English elementary education.
- (2) The relevant Reports of the Committee of the Privy Council show that in 1866, 55,244 scholars were inspected in 296 Catholic elementary schools. By 1885, 174,069 scholars were inspected in 850 Catholic elementary schools.

Any comprehensive survey of the Report would be outside the scope of this thesis. It need simply be said that the Commissioners were divided on almost every issue by a margin of fifteen votes to eight. Eventually, there was a Majority Report, a Minority Report, and five 'Notes of Reservation' written by various Commissioners, including one such Note by Cardinal Manning.

The differences between the two groups were essentially the differences between the Commissioners in favour of assistance for the denominational schools, i.e. the Anglicans, the Wesleyans and the Catholics, on one hand, and the mainly Nonconformist school boards on the other. In fact, the Commission found that few school boards in England exercised their right to ban all religious teaching in their schools.(1) Instead, the differences between the groups were of an ideological rather than of a religious nature.

One such difference centred around the definition of a 'suitable school.'(2) The suitable school issue was complicated by Section 8 of the Act of 1870 which gave to both board schools and voluntary schools the right to object to the establishment of a school in an area already served by an existing school. The importance of this right will be realised when it is remembered that the 'payment by results' scheme was still in force, and any falling-off in numbers in a school meant a corresponding decrease in the Government Grant. Although it would be difficult to visualise a situation in which the managers of a Catholic school would object to the establishment of a board school on the grounds that such a school would attract children from the Catholic school, unfortunately, board schools frequently objected to the establishment of Catholic schools in their vicinity. The usual

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- (1) 'Out of 2,225 school boards, representing the judgement of more than 16,000,000 of our population, only 7 in England and 50 in Wales have dispensed entirely with religious teaching and observance...Of the school boards in the large towns, one alone dispenses with the reading of the Bible, and one alone dispenses with prayers and hymns' (Report of the Cross Commission, p. 113.) The comparatively high figure for the school boards in Wales suggests that the boards with Nonconformist majorities tended to ban religious teaching in their schools. Dr. Crosskey, a Unitarian, and a member of the Birmingham School Board, told the Commission that he considered it 'undesirable for the sake of religion that religion should be taught in schools.' (Ibid. p. 123)
- (2) The Act had described a suitable school as one to which 'from the absence of religious or other restriction, parents cannot reasonably object.'

practice was for the Education Department to refer to the local school board any application made by one of the denominations for permission to establish an elementary school in its area. If there were empty places in the board school, the board would object to the application on the grounds that sufficient accommodation already existed, and the application would be refused.(1)

The case which was raised at the hearings of the Cross Commission was that of the Catholic school at Dan-y-Graig in the area of the Swansea School Board. In 1884, the parish priest had sent the plans of the school he proposed to have built to the Department with a formal request that the school be recognised for the payment of grant. In accordance with its usual practice, the Department sought the sanction of the Swansea School Board before giving permission. The School Board, which was already enlarging the local board school, claimed that the new school was not necessary as there was sufficient accommodation available in the area. By 1885, when H.M. Inspectors visited the new Catholic school, they found that there were 181 children in attendance and the school was very efficient. But no Government Grant was payable to the school. The School Board had claimed that the new school was unnecessary.(2)

The Catholic authorities agreed that there was accommodation in the board school in the area. But, in their opinion, this was not the issue. As a board school, the school was not a

(1) Originally, the National Society had welcomed the power to object to the establishment of a board school in an area served by National schools. In Lichfield, for example, as late as 1908, there were six Church of England schools, one Catholic school but no council schools, although school accommodation was unsatisfactory. When it was proposed to build a council school, the supporters of the Church of England schools raised strong protests and the school was not built. (P.R.O. File Ed.24/617 'The Single-School Area Grievance - Lichfield.' See also p.341)

(2) The Annual Reports of the Committee of Council, 1875 - 1901, list details of 82 applications from voluntary school bodies which were refused on the grounds that the schools were not necessary. 38 of the applications were in respect of Catholic schools, and of these, 11 referred to schools in Wales.

'suitable school' so far as the Catholics were concerned.

'...(The Roman Catholics) insist that where the choice is open to them between a Roman Catholic school and another school, it becomes vital to them to attend their own school, which is the suitable one, and the other school, even if suitable before, becomes the unsuitable one...They are unwilling to go to other schools when they can have their own....their schools are rarely used, and then mainly for want of other accommodation, by Protestants.'(1)

Voluntary Contributions.

The Minority Report quoted figures purporting to show that voluntary contributions to the denominational schools had been declining steadily since 1870, i.e. from 7s.3d. per scholar in average attendance in 1869 to 6s. 9d. in 1886. The figures were, of course, quite correct. But they took no account of the huge increase in the numbers of scholars attending the schools during these years. In money terms, voluntary contributions to the denominational schools had increased from £437,000 in 1871 to £742,000 in 1886, an increase of almost 70%. Voluntary contributions to the Catholic schools had increased from £25,881 in 1871 to £64,600 in 1886, an increase of almost 150%. From the £3,254 which the board schools had received from the rates in 1872, the amount had risen to £1,169,150 in 1886. To the claim that any voluntary contribution made to a denominational school should be allowed against the amount payable under the school rate, the Minority Report replied that the suggestion was impracticable. It would mean that all elementary schools, board and voluntary, were being paid for out of the rates. Since the managers of the voluntary schools wished to retain 'very important powers' in the running of their schools, 'it is not unreasonable that those who wish to preserve them should bear some material part in securing them.'(2)

Rate Aid for Voluntary Schools.

The Minority Report stressed the difference between the Government Grant which the voluntary schools received and the

(1) Report of the Cross Commission, Chapter 17, 'Suitable Schools.'

(2) Ibid. pp. 69 - 70. Statistics on voluntary contributions from the Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1895 - 1896. Table F. lxii.

grant from the local rates which many voluntary school supporters felt they should share with the board schools. The Minority Report stressed that the Government Grant was strictly controlled and 'from year to year, the Ministry, subject to the check of the House of Commons, can vary, or put an end to its payments....' If compulsory aid were given by the locality, 'it would be necessary to give the local contributors, that is the ratepayers, that power of management which the present managers consider the chief advantage for which they are willing to bear the burden of their voluntary contributions.' (1)

The Minority Report made much of the testimony of Thomas Allies, the secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee.

'If our schools are supported by the rates, I dread their falling, pro tanto, under the power of the rate-payers....I have a great dread of assistance from the rates for that reason.....'

When the Cardinal reminded Allies that Catholic industrial schools and reformatories received money from the rates without giving rise to any particular difficulties, Allies replied:

'I can conceive that to be possible, certainly, but my trust in the ratepayers is very small indeed at present...It is possible, I think, certainly, but I have a great distrust of the ratepayers.' (2)

Allies apparently felt that the best way of improving the lot of the voluntary schools was 'to prevent the enormous predominance of wealth from public sources which the board schools have at their command as against the voluntary schools.' Every year, the superiority of the board schools in resources supplied 'at any cost they like to impose upon the people' became more and more apparent. 'It is so great that it seems to me that it will ultimately destroy the voluntary schools.' (3) He ended his evidence by stating his objection to 'board schools giving an education which does not properly belong to the children of parents in their actual condition.' (4)

(1) Report of the Cross Commission, pp. 354 - 355.

(2) Ibid. Evidence of Thomas Allies. Q. 9352 - 9354.

(3) Ibid. Q. 9322.

(4) Ibid. Q. 9584 - 9588.

Press comment on the Report of the Cross Commission was predictable. The School Board Chronicle considered that the Commission had been so packed that 'the stupendous enquiry extending over three years' made recommendations which might 'have been formulated by Lord Cross when he announced the determination of the Government to appoint the Commission.' (1) The Daily News saw the Report as a foregone conclusion. The Royal Commission was appointed only 'in response to the demand of certain active denominationalists who had supported the Government in the election.' A minority of friends of the unsectarian schools was put on the Commission to give it 'an appearance of fairness.' (2) The Morning Post suggested that Parliament would be even more divided than the Commissioners had been when the time came to debate the issue. The question was, would the voluntary schools receive fair treatment or would they be 'even more heavily burdened with the view of quietly squeezing them out of existence.' (3)

Cardinal Manning's 'Reservation' attracted a great deal of attention. In that summer of 1888, Charles Ritchie's Local Government Bill was passing through the Commons. (4) The Cardinal had suggested that if provision was made in this Bill for the County Councils to administer education in their areas, this would place all schools on an equal footing with regard to the Government Grant and the school rate. The Cardinal was careful to stress that he was thinking only of the right to participate in the rate fund, not necessarily on terms of equality with the board schools.

The Cardinal's suggestion was not entirely new. The Report of the Newcastle Commission (1861) had advocated the payment of local grants to all schools (5) by 'county and borough education boards,' such boards being responsible for the inspection of the schools' secular instruction and paying grants accordingly.

(1) A reference to the speech made at Widnes during the 1885 election campaign. See p.61.

(2) Quoted in The Tablet, 6th. October, 1888, p. 549.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Although it was not realised at the time, it was this Bill, which received the Royal Assent on 8th. August, 1888, which settled the fate of the school boards.

(5) Report of the Newcastle Commission, 1861, pp. 328 - 330. Of course, there ^{were} no board schools at the time, and the proposal, which was never implemented, would have meant that the voluntary schools would have been funded out of the rates. The Government Grant became subject to the 'payment by results' system as a result of the Revised Code of 1862.

Another Commissioner, Sir Francis Sandford, an Anglican, also wrote a 'reservation' to the main Report.(1) He, too, proposed that the new county councils should be made responsible for education. The Cardinal was, apparently, very pleased that an eminent Anglican agreed with him. He wrote to 'My Dear Sir Francis' and expressed his delight that the idea had been explained to other Anglicans without any outsiders being present. 'Our friends had it before them as a domestic affair.'(2) A few weeks later, when Sir Francis's plan was published, the Cardinal wrote to him, 'Nothing can be happier than the publication of your Memorandum....it gives the keynote with no uncertain sound.'(3) Later in the year the Cardinal wrote, 'Our Bishops met here on Monday...We read and discussed your Memorandum.....If your Bishops will do the same, we will have a strong front.'(4)

But the School Board Chronicle was obviously alarmed at the threat which a plan which was certainly feasible, backed by Anglicans and Catholics alike, posed to the future of the school boards. A 'divide and conquer' approach became apparent:

'(The policy) will give rise to a great deal of controversy when the time comes for understanding how much more difficult to deal with are the claims of the Roman Catholic Church than are the demands of all the other sections.....Cardinal Manning is vague by intention....He appears to imagine that it is possible to make such a change in the re-casting of our elementary school system as shall put an end to the warfare which rages around the denominational school question...He has seen his way to stand in with the Church of England in this battle so far, but he is not prepared to stand or fall with Anglicanism...(5)

A more direct approach to the Cardinal came from Lyulph Stanley, a member of the Cross Commission who signed the Minority Report, and a member of the London School Board. There is a letter in the Manning Papers which Stanley wrote to the Cardinal in October, 1888. He suggested to the Cardinal that it 'would be to the advantage of the Catholic schools' if such schools would take a line 'which would enable us to draw a distinction between you

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- (1) The Cross Report. 'A Memorandum as to the Mode of Bringing Education within the Scope of the Local Government Bill.'
- (2) The Manning Papers. Manning to Sandford. 28th. April, 1888.
- (3) Ibid. 21st. June, 1888.
- (4) Ibid. 22nd. October, 1888.
- (5) The School Board Chronicle quoted in The Tablet, 1st. September, 1888. p. 340.

and the ordinary denominationalists... Pray excuse this intrusion. I write because I wish, not to injure your schools, but to secure friendly treatment for themif once war is declared all along the line, there is no power to discriminate among those arrayed against us.'(1) Unfortunately, there is no record of the Cardinal's reply to Stanley. But the Cardinal certainly showed the letter to Sandford, who saw in it 'a bribe to secure the support of the Irish Members in defeating any attempt to give control of education to the county councils under Clause 8 of the Act.'(2)

The hopes of the Cardinal and Sandford that the future of the voluntary schools might be secured under the Local Government Act were soon to be dashed. In November, 1888, a conference of the National Society decided by a majority vote that to accept rate-aid for the Society's schools would be 'inexpedient.' The debate had been a bitter one, even the Bishops being divided in their opinions.(3) The Cardinal wrote to Sandford that the action of the Anglicans reminded him of that of the House of Lords when they threw out the Reform Bill in 1831. He wrote an article, 'Fifty Reasons Why the Voluntary Schools Ought to Share the School Rates,' and sent it, anonymously, to The Times. The newspaper refused to publish the article unless it was signed. Undeterred, the Cardinal sent copies to all those whom he felt might be interested. In an accompanying letter to Bishop Ullathorne at Birmingham, he wrote:

'Here are fifty stripes for the backs of those cowardly Anglican Bishops for deserting their own principles.. (The Tories) are in the hands of the Liberal Unionists and as cowardly as to their adhering to their principles as the Anglican Bishops....What a state we are in! We sadly want a good Catholic leader in the House.'(4)

Lord Salisbury's reply, thanking the Cardinal for his copy, was non-committal. He simply promised 'careful study.'(5) Lord Ripon urged caution. Catholics should 'hold firmly to what they have got, and not to risk that by seeking after more...'(6) Lord Aberdare, the Chairman of the Departmental Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, in thanking the

(1) The Manning Papers, Stanley to Manning, 11th. October, 1888.

(2) Ibid. Sandford to Manning, 15th. October, 1888.

(3) The Archbishop of Canterbury supported the resolution; the Bishop of London and Canon Gregory, who had been members of the Cross Commission opposed and voted for rate support.

(4) The Manning Papers. Manning to Ullathorne. 20th. December, 1888.

(5) Ibid. Salisbury to Manning, 15th. January, 1889.

(6) Leslie, S.: 'Henry Edward Manning: His Life and Labours.' London. 1921. p. 452.

Cardinal for his copy of 'Fifty Reasons' also advised caution. 'Parliament will not go back from the Concordat of 1870... My belief is that any changes made will certainly not be favourable to voluntary schools.'(1)

In his letter of thanks for a copy, A.J. Mundella assured the Cardinal 'it will be carefully read and considered by me As an advocate of Christian education, I regret that I cannot always agree with your proposals....I hope we may arrive at the same end, although we travel by different roads...' (2)

Fortunately, the Cardinal did not live to see one very unfortunate consequence of his distribution of the copies of the pamphlet. He sent a copy to Rev. A.J. Rigg, the head of the Methodist Education Department, who had been a fellow-member of the Cross Commission. In a letter of thanks, Rigg wrote:

'...I wish you could oblige your intemperate temperance co-adjutor(3) our Methodist firebrand, Hugh Price Hughes, to study the series.....The old secularism is all but dead ...the Birmingham of 1869 is behind us...In a true sense we may now forget the things that are behind us and press onwards towards a Christian national education.' (4)

Purcell published the letter in his biography of Cardinal Manning to the great embarrassment of Rigg, who had no idea that the letter would ever be made public. Rev. Hugh Price Hughes was editor of The Methodist Times when the biography appeared and Rigg was censured for his criticism of official Methodist policy.(5)

Meanwhile, in spite of his advanced age and failing health, (he had a near-fatal illness in 1888) the Cardinal persisted in his efforts to obtain what he considered to be nothing less than justice for his beloved schools. In the summer of 1889, there

(1) The Manning Papers, Aberdare to Manning, 5th. April, 1889.

(2) Ibid. Mundella to Manning, 10th. May, 1889.

(3) The Cardinal had founded 'The League of the Cross' a Catholic temperance movement in 1872.

(4) Purcell, E.S.: 'The Life of Cardinal Manning,' London, 1896. V.2. pp. 706 - 7.

(5) When the Purcell biography was published in 1896, the Cardinal's executors were extremely upset at the tone of the book. In a letter to The Times (29th. January, 1896,) the executors disclaimed any responsibility for Purcell's 'publication of the private letters and documents, affecting the happiness of the living and the reputation of the dead,' since Purcell had refused to allow the executors to read the proofs of the book.

were signs that the position of the school boards might not be quite so powerful as had been believed. During the Debate in the Commons on the Technical Instruction Bills, the weakness of a system which existed only in certain areas of the country became apparent when a national system of technical education was under discussion.

CONCLUSION.

It was, perhaps, only to be expected that there would be little in the way of reform of the elementary school system as a result of the Report of the Cross Commission. The denominational divisions among the members of the Commission and the political divisions in the House of Commons effectively prevented it. Yet, from the Catholic point of view, the importance of the Commission should not be overlooked. The first and most important thing is that the Commission was established at all. This was a great tribute to the efforts of Cardinal Manning, who was seen not only as the leader of the Catholic community but also as the champion of the voluntary school cause.

Linked to this aspect of the Cardinal's efforts was the effect which the Commission had in forging the bonds between the Anglicans and the Catholics. The Cardinal and Sir Francis Sandford were both aware of the danger to the cause of the voluntary schools which would arise if a wedge could be driven between the two denominations. Lyulph Stanley's letter to the Cardinal (1) is an indication of the importance which the Liberals attached to the creation of such a division.

In spite of the embarrassment which his evidence caused the Cardinal, too much importance need not be placed on the evidence of Thomas Allies, the secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee. His expressed opinion, that he had 'a great dread' of financial assistance from the rates, was one which had been held by some Catholic Bishops during the thirty years of his period as secretary. As late as 1870, after the passing of the Forster Act, Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham had addressed a Pastoral Letter to the Catholics in his Diocese on the subject of accepting even the Government Grant.(2) He advocated that

(1) See pp. 83 - 84 supra.

(2) 'A Pastoral Letter to the Faithful of the Diocese of Birmingham by William Bernard Ullathorne.' Birmingham Diocesan Archives, Document B4854, 27th. October, 1870, p. 4.

Catholics should keep out of the national education system. Joining it would be 'directly injurious to the Catholic sense and Faith.' He conceded that Catholics could become members of school boards since 'their presence constituted the only securities we possess for the safety of our children.' However, by 1876, Bishop Ullathorne advised all Catholic members of school boards to withdraw from them. (1)

Of course, this divergence of opinion on the subject of accepting grants existed also among the Anglican community. Both the Committee of the National Society and the Bishops were opposed to accepting rate aid for the Anglican schools, although the parish clergy were in favour of acceptance. Cardinal Manning's pamphlet, 'Fifty Reasons,' left no-one in any doubt where the Cardinal stood in the matter, and the vast majority of Catholics agreed with him.

In retrospect, it is possible to see that the fate of the school boards had been decided even before the Cross Commission had published its Report. The Debates on the Technical Instruction Bills between January, 1887, and May, 1888, and the success of Hart Dyke's Bill in August, 1889, (2) had shown the inadequacy of the existing school board in implementing any national reform in the education system. With County Councils established everywhere as a result of the 1889 Act, it was very obvious that the school boards established to 'fill the gaps' in 1870 were now to become anomalies. When the Catholic Bishops came together for the Low Week meeting in 1888, they were able to express the opinion that 'control of education will hereafter be largely transferred to the County Councils...Justice requires that the voluntary schools shall partake in the local education rate.' (3) Unfortunately, another fourteen years of increasing financial hardship were to elapse before the voluntary schools attained such financial security.

(1) Quoted in Norman, E.: 'The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century.' Oxford, 1984. p. 175.

(2) The details are given on pp. 97 - 100 infra.

(3) 'Acta' for 1888. Westminster Diocesan Archives.

SECTION 2.

POLITICAL FACTORS AND THE FATE OF THE
VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, 1888 - 1902.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE 1889 ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CODE.

Towards the end of 1888, after the publication of the Cross Commission Report, Lord Cranbrook recorded in his diary:

'I had the Archbishop (Benson) and the Bishop of Rochester, Harrowby, Talbot, Powell and Gregory to see me...They laid before us(1) their wishes on the recommendations of the Commission...Money is at the bottom of it all..'(2)

A few weeks later he noted:

'Yesterday, the Duke of Norfolk and Sandford came by appointment on the subject of the Code.(3) What they desired needs legislation, although not unreasonable in itself.'(4)

In drawing up the Code for 1889, the Education Department had in mind the recommendations of the Cross Commission on improving conditions in the schools. The Government could be sure of the support of the Liberal Unionists in asking for the improvements, but there would be no support for a measure giving any financial assistance to carry out the improvements, which, from the point of view of the voluntary schools, created serious difficulties.

The non-arrival of the Code in the House of Commons library suggested that there were difficulties of one kind or another. When Francis Powell asked Hart Dyke when the Code would be available, he was told that copies would be in the Library next day.(5) The Government could hardly have anticipated the outcry which greeted the new Code.(6) Both Houses, the National Society and the Catholic Hierarchy denounced it. It was not so much the building and financial clauses which caused the bother, although these were serious enough, but the far-reaching, yet ill-defined powers of the Inspectorate in enforcing the Code. Viscount Cranbourne, J.G. Talbot and A.J. Mundella all asked that the House should be allowed to see the copies of the instructions given to the inspectors. Hart Dyke, the Vice-President, refused, on the grounds that no instructions could be given to the inspectors

(1) Hart Dyke, the Vice-President was also present.

(2) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, ed. Johnson, N. Oxford. 1981. Entry for 15th. December, 1888.

(3) Copies of the Code or Regulations for the Elementary Schools.

(4) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, ed. Johnson, N. Oxford, 1981. Entry for 28th. February, 1889.

(5) Parliamentary Debates, 25th. March, 1889, c. 732.

(6) A summary of the Clauses of the 1889 Code is given in Appendix 5, on p. 406. If there were no objections to a Code, it became established and had the force of law.

until the House had approved the Code.(1) Viscount Cranbrook gave a similar reply to Earl Beauchamp in the Lords.(2)

The Catholic Bishops were seriously concerned about the effect the Code would have on the already precarious position of the schools. In Manchester, Bishop (later Cardinal) Vaughan presided over a meeting of the Voluntary Schools Association which discussed the new Code and its demands. A statement issued after the meeting expressed regret that no attempt had been made to remove the 17s.6d. limit which restricted the grant-earning capabilities of many Catholic schools whilst, at the same time, the 100 cubic feet per scholar regulation would entail further building expense.

'We cannot fail to detect in the provisions of the new Code a spirit unfriendly to the voluntary schools of England and Wales...and a further attempt on the part of the Education Department to make their existence more and more precarious...'(3)

Similar sentiments were expressed by an M.P., Francis Powell, who was also a member of the National Society. In a letter to The Times he expressed regret that the 17s. 6d. limit was to remain, although 'the new provision for accommodation' could be applied in such a fashion 'as to inflict injury of a fatal character on many schools.' He suggested that the existing Code should remain in force for a further year, 'in order that time may be afforded for a fuller examination of these complicated provisions.'(4)

At this stage, Cranbrook himself was not unduly worried. after 'much talk yesterday with Cumin and Dyke about the Code, ...we may meet some of the education objections.'(5) But Cardinal Manning, after a discussion with the Catholic Bishops, wrote to Lord Salisbury. He explained that he realised that the Code represented all that the Government could do to implement the Report of the Cross Commission, but he reminded the Prime Minister that, in the Report, 'such recommendations were accompanied by careful provisions to enable voluntary schools to meet the requirements laid upon them...Such provisions are not made by the new Code.' The Cardinal expressed his fears that 'partial and premature adoption of certain parts of the Report will seriously

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 28th. March, 1889. c.1042.

(2) Ibid. 5th. April, 1889. c. 1692.

(3) The Times, 18th. April, 1889.

(4) Ibid.

(5) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, ed. Johnson, N. Oxford, 1981.
Entry for 2nd. May, 1889. Cumin was secretary at the Education Department.

forestall and prejudice the future treatment of the Report as a whole.' (1) He suggested to the Prime Minister that the best course would be to withdraw the Code altogether.

When the Cabinet met on 4th. May, 1889, Lord Salisbury had obviously received the Cardinal's letter :

'Salisbury produced strong letters against the Code and recommended its withdrawal. This I objected to, without discussion...all came to the conclusion that the discussion had better take place on Friday.... I have no power to promise money...The Voluntaries who object are unwise...the calls upon them are met more than they think.' (2)

A week later, the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke against the Code in the House of Lords. (3) He was particularly concerned at the proposal to establish day training colleges for teachers. He was at pains to stress that it was not the principle of day training colleges to which he objected, but if school boards were empowered to fund such colleges out of the rates, would any assistance be given to voluntary day training colleges? If not, 'the competition will be sufficient absolutely to destroy them.' On the 10 sq. ft./100 cu. ft. issue, the Archbishop wanted to know if this regulation was to be retrospective or prospective. If it was to be retrospective, 'that would be absolute ruin and destruction to a great number of our schools.' Lord Herries, on behalf of the Catholic community, spoke against the new Code. He said the Bishops were against frequent changes in the Codes because these only further aggravated the difficulties of maintaining the schools. So far as the new Code was concerned, 'far too much is left to the discretion of the inspector, who, 'while under the influence of biliousness or bad temper,' could make a report which would deprive a school of its grant. (4)

In spite of it all, Cranbrook did not appear to be too worried. He thought the attack on the Code was 'not really strong... the Archbishop was calm and temperate ...but Beauchamp was, of course, not satisfied...Salisbury is oppressed by the great number

(1) 'Acta' of the Hierarchy, Low Week, 1889. Paragraph 4.

(2) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, ed. Johnson, N. Oxford, 1981. Entry for 5th. May, 1889.

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 10th. May, 1889. cc. 1659-62.

(4) Ibid. cc. 1673 - 74.

of remonstrances all stirred up by the Comee. of the Natl. Socy...(1)

When the Cabinet next met, it was agreed that the two Codes, the existing one and the new one for 1889, should both remain in force for the time being. Cranbrook noted that when he explained the position to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, 'they were both most reasonable.'(2) But Cranbrook was not too clear in his mind as to how the two Codes could be in operation at the same time. He had 'much talk with Dyke and Cumin as to the mode of treating the two Codes...the Archbishop and the Bishop of London are being driven wild by the more violent of the Nationalists, Gregory and others.'(3) There is evidence that Cranbrook, too, was losing patience with the supporters of the voluntary schools who were constantly attacking him. He wrote to J.G. Talbot 'as to his using the Church Defence Institute meeting to attack the Code and to censure me...I think it rather strong...They have got up a great stir averse to the Code, as I believe, most suicidally...I do not wish to stand in the way of the voluntary schools getting any amount of money.'(4)

On 22nd. June, 1889, the Cabinet gave way to the protests of the voluntary school supporters and decided to withdraw the Code, although it appears that Cranbrook himself had second thoughts about the matter:

'It was so clear that, sooner than fight our own friends, all my colleagues desired it to be withdrawn that I submitted to their unanimous decision... It seems a surrender, and yet the Code is not withdrawn on its merits...but on the grounds of expediency...there will be a great outcry from the school boards and the teachers...Should I withdraw from the Church Defence and the National Society? ...I should be justified.'(5)

Thus, although the withdrawal of the Code might have seemed like a victory for the voluntary schools, it was a victory in a very

(1) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, ed. Johnson, N. Oxford. 1981. Entry for 11th. May, 1889.

(2) Ibid. Entry for 15th. May, 1889.

(3) Ibid. Entry for 18th. May, 1889. Canon Gregory had been a member of the Cross Commission.

(4) Ibid. Entry for 22nd. June, 1889. Talbot had moved a resolution at the meeting asking for the Code to be withdrawn. Powell criticised the new Code at the same meeting. (The Times, 21st. June, 1889.)

(5) Ibid. Entry for 22nd. June, 1889.

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negative sense. Supporters of the school boards could again claim that the voluntary schools were acting as a brake on the progress of national education. But the simple fact was that the voluntary schools, and particularly the Catholic schools, simply did not have the money to carry out the provisions of the new Code. Had it remained in force, H.M. Inspectors would have had no choice but to recommend that the grants be withheld from some schools and such schools would, almost certainly, have had to close. At the same time, there was a feeling of anger among many Catholics that the Education Department had seized upon certain parts of the Report and tried to have them implemented, without making any attempt to ensure that the necessary financial support was given to enable the recommendations to be carried out.

The Liberal Administration, 1880 - 1885, had set up a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Bernard (later Sir Bernard) Samuelson, to inquire into 'the instruction of the industrial classes in certain foreign countries in technical and other subjects for the purpose of comparison with that of the corresponding classes in this country.' (1) On the question of the funding of technical instruction in this country, the Report of the Commission recommended:

'It will be necessary to look, in the main, to local resources for any large addition to the funds required for the further development of technical instruction in this country.' (2)

'Local resources' were used to finance the board schools, but not the voluntary schools, hence it was clear that there would be a re-opening of the old issue of popular control if the voluntary schools were to receive help from 'local resources' to finance technical instruction. But as early as 1886, the Education Department appears to have had some doubts as to the advisability of allowing the school boards to undertake anything other than elementary education. In that year, the Leeds School Board had its application for permission to establish a science and art school rejected by the Department. The reply contained the following paragraph:

'I am at the same time to point out that, even if it were agreed to authorise the establishment of such schools, My Lords question whether such authority should be given to school boards...They are disposed to think that, if such authority is to be granted, it might be better given to Local Representative Boards created under the proposed Local Government Bill.' (sic) (3)

A request from the West Ham School Board was similarly dismissed. (4)

During the years when the Cross Commission was hearing evidence, attempts were being made to establish some form of technical instruction in the country. Originally, there were the

(1) From the Terms of Reference of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881 - 1884. Samuelson was also a member of the Cross Commission and signed the Minority Report.

(2) The Samuelson Report. Part IV. p. 515.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed. 10/11/86. Doc. 10672, dated 16th. December, 1886. Sir John Gorst named the Leeds School Board as one of the boards which had defied the Education Department and established a science school in 1899. (Parliamentary Debates, 5th. March, 1901)

(4) P.R.O. File Ed. 10/11, Document 3307, dated 4th. April, 1887.

efforts made by the Liberal Members, Sir Henry Roscoe, Sir John Lubbock(1) and Sir Lyon Playfair to introduce a Private Member's Bill. It was a simple Bill, giving the school boards the right to levy a penny rate to finance technical instruction.(2) Voluntary schools would be permitted to give similar technical instruction, but without any additional financial assistance. The Bill had a good reception in the House and Hart Dyke appeared worried about the prospect of it going through. In a confidential memorandum to the Cabinet(3) he wrote:

'There is no doubt that great pressure will be brought to bear on H.M. Government to give facilities for passing Sir Lyon Playfair's Bill... I question whether it would be safe to risk barring its progress...the whole credit for it will then rest with the other side.... We have to consider whether H.M. Government should take the lead and bring in a measure...'

Presumably the Cabinet agreed because on 4th. July, 1887, Hart Dyke had his Bill printed.(4) Before it was introduced in the House, the Government's legal adviser, Courtenay (later Sir Courtenay Ilbert, sent a memorandum to the Cabinet about one aspect of the Bill. It was a reference to the clause which allowed a town council or a school board to 'Subsidise out of the rates, a technical school maintained by a private person or a body of persons....It is possible that serious objections may be raised to this power of subsidising voluntary institutions out of the rates.'(5) The Bill had a First Reading in the House on 19th. July, but the session ended without any legislation on technical instruction. Once again, the question of rate aid for the voluntary schools had proved to be a stumbling block.

In preparation for the new Session, the Cabinet asked Ilbert to draft a 'Science and Art and Technical Instruction Bill.'(6) When ready, the Bill proposed that the limit of one penny on the rate should be abolished and 'a Local Authority will have power, not only to set up and maintain its own schools, but to subsidise,

(1) Lubbock was a member of the Cross Commission and had signed the Minority Report.

(2) The title was, 'Technical Education (Day Schools) Bill.'

(3) P.R.O. File Ed. 31/6, dated 15th. June, 1887.

(4) The title was, 'Technical Instruction Bill, 1887. A Bill to facilitate the provision of Technical Instruction.'

(5) P.R.O. File Ed.31/6, dated 9th. July, 1887.

(6) P.R.O. File Ed. 31/6 dated 5th. December, 1887.

or otherwise aid, schools under voluntary management.'(1)

Early in the new Session, Sir Henry Roscoe's Bill was re-introduced.(2) The futility of attempting to base any new technical instruction measures on the school boards soon became obvious during the Debate. There were large boroughs like Bury, Warrington, Stockport, Preston and Birkenhead which had no school boards and, presumably, would have no technical instruction unless the voluntary schools supplied it at their own expense. At the other end of the scale, there were over half of the 2,568 school boards in the country serving communities of less than 1,000 people, yet all of these could have rate-aided technical instruction.(3)

With the Roscoe Bill deadlocked, Hart Dyke introduced his Bill on 17th. May, 1888. Not surprisingly, there were loud protests from the school board supporters over the proposals. The Bradford School Board was one of the many which insisted that 'adequate and direct representation should be provided on all governing bodies of schools carrying on manual or technical instruction by the aid of money from the local rates.'(4) When the Warrington Association for the Promotion of Technical Instruction wrote to the Education Department about the position of towns without school boards, Mr. Fitzkon, Hart Dyke's secretary, assured the Association that local authorities would have the same powers as school boards had.(5) A similar assurance was given to the Manchester Association for the Promotion of Technical Education.(6) But the 1888 Session ended without any legislation on the matter of technical instruction.

Early in the 1889 Session, Sir Henry Roscoe's Bill was again introduced, but this time it was much amended. It proposed that whatever funds were made available by the local school board for technical instruction, similar amounts would be paid to the voluntary schools, but these amounts would be paid either by the Science and Art Department or the Government.(7) But again, the

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.31/6 dated 7th. January, 1888.

(2) The Bill was re-introduced on 10th. February, 1888.

(3) Cruickshank, M.: 'The 1902 Education Act' History of Education Society Bulletin, Spring, 1977. p. 5. Altogether, there were 163 boroughs in England and Wales without school boards.(Parliamentary Debates, 15th. July, 1889)

(4) P.R.O. File Ed.31/6, Doc. 5922, dated 30th. June, 1888.

(5) Ibid. Doc. 5926 dated 30th. June, 1888.

(6) Ibid. Doc. 5928 dated 30th. June, 1888.

(7) The Bill was read on 22nd. February, 1889 and had a Second Reading on 8th. May, 1889.

Bill became the centre of a bitter debate. Voluntary school supporters saw it as a further injustice to ask them to provide technical instruction on the same scale as the board schools, in spite of the difficulties of working in out-dated buildings, with unskilled teachers and inadequate facilities. School board supporters saw the Bill as a threat to their future, with technical instruction eventually becoming a direct responsibility of the Education Department.

When no sign of a compromise had emerged by mid-July, the Liberal Member, Kay-Shuttleworth, proposed that all technical instruction should be given in the board schools and paid for out of the school rate. Any voluntary school scholars who wished to attend the board schools purely to avail of the technical instruction should be allowed to do so. If the voluntary school managers preferred, teachers from the board schools would attend at the voluntary schools to give technical instruction. George Dixon, who was also a member of the Birmingham School Board, was at some pains to stress the conditions attached in such cases:

'...The cost of the instruction shall be paid for by the school board, who shall also receive the Government Grant(1)...the classroom shall be considered to be a school board classroom while the technical teaching is going on...' (2)

Bernard Molloy, the former Cross Commissioner, reminded the House that even such a scheme as the one proposed would still restrict technical instruction to about one-third of the schools in the country.(3) Mr. Illingworth, the long-time advocate of universal school boards, considered that, so long as the controversy of rate aid for the voluntary schools was being raised, 'technical education must be postponed until this much larger question is settled, and the question cannot be settled until school boards are universal throughout the country.' (4) Hart Dyke expressed his agreement with Illingworth's assessment of the situation, but added, 'We do not appear to have seen any way out of the difficulty.' (5) Hart Dyke may have been somewhat less than accurate when he seemed to be accepting Illingworth's view of the situation. It will be remembered

(1) The 'payment by results' system was in force at the time.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 15th. July, 1889, c. 486.

(3) Ibid. c. 491.

(4) Ibid. c. 492.

(5) Ibid. c. 492.

that on 17th. May, 1888, Hart Dyke had introduced a Bill to establish technical education.(1) He now re-introduced it in a shortened form of two clauses. The first clause gave to local authorities the power 'out of the rates to supply, or aid the supply, of technical or manual instruction to such an extent and on such terms as the authority thinks expedient.' The second clause, however, was the important one so far as the school boards were concerned:

'A Local Authority may appoint a Committee, consisting wholly or partly of members of the Local Authority, and delegate to that Committee any powers exercise-able under the Act, except raising a rate or borrowing money.'(2)

The Act envisaged the setting-up of 'education committees' which would carry out the education policies of the local authorities, but, unlike the school boards, would have no power to levy a rate.

Sir Francis Sandford, Cardinal Manning's colleague on the Cross Commission, wrote to the Cardinal:

'In their Technical Bill, they have adopted two of my ideas:

1. The use of County Councils and other non-school board rural boards as educational agents.
2. The co-option of outsiders on these boards as experts in educational work.'(3)

The Cardinal wrote to Sandford by return:

'I went down to the House to see Talbot(4) but he was not to be found...I saw Hart Dyke. I told him he had laid the foundations of a new Education Act on the lines of the County Councils...I did not know until I read your letter that you had your hand in it....This is the first instalment of your Memorandum.'(5)

Hart Dyke promised the Cardinal that he would keep him informed on the progress of the Bill, and he appears to have done this.(6) By the end of July, Sandford was writing to the Cardinal in a mood

(1) See page 94. This was the Bill drafted by Ilbert.

(2) The title was, 'A Bill for the Promotion of Technical Instruction.'

(3) The Manning Papers. Sandford to Manning, 29th. July, 1889.

(4) J.G. Talbot, a member of the Cross Commission.

(5) The Manning Papers. Manning to Sandford, 29th. July, 1889.

'As to the Mode of bringing Education within the Scope of the Local Government Act' was Sandford's Memorandum. He wrote it as a Reservation to the Report of the Cross Commission.

(6) The Manning Papers. Hart Dyke to Manning, 8th. August, 1889. Fitzkon (Hart Dyke's Secretary) to Manning, 13th. August, 1889.

of some optimism.

'The Government Technical Bill, as you have seen, covers the whole country and recognises:

1. County Councils as Education Authorities.
2. The Co-operation (sic) of expert outsiders on the Education Committees of such Authorities.
3. Aid to schools not under the management of the Local Authority.

From both sides of the House, we have an acceptance of my scheme which will, in the Welsh Bill(1), have the sanction of the Legislature this year...This is encouraging, but we must not sing the paeon till one, at least, of these Bills has passed.'(2)

The 1889 Session was drawing to a close when the Bill came up for its Third Reading.(3) Supporters of the school boards were in no doubt that the Bill had a far wider significance than the encouragement of technical instruction. Mr. Picton insisted that it could not go through at all on a purely technical point, viz. it had not had a Second Reading, merely a 'superficial conversation.' When called to order, he pleaded that 'the distortion of the educational progress of this country from the properly constituted authorities, the school boards,' should not be carried out by 'brute force.'(4)

Mr. Broadhurst, another school board stalwart, asked the First Lord of the Treasury, W.H. Smith, if he knew that the Manchester Corporation had sent in a petition against the Bill, and if he had seen the letters opposing the Bill which had appeared in The Daily News. Mr. Broadhurst pointed out that the letters had been written by Mr. A.J. Mundella, and the Chairmen of the school boards of Huddersfield, Spalding and Nottingham. All were protesting vigorously against the Technical Instruction Bill. Mr. Smith was not too impressed. He said it was not for H.M.

(1) The Welsh Intermediate Education Act (P.R.O. File Ed. 31/5) 1889, created Joint Education Committees for every County Council and Borough with three elected and two nominated members on each.

(2) The Manning Papers. Sandford to Manning, 31st. July, 1889.

(3) On 26th. August, 1889.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 26th. August, 1889. cc.492 - 3.
The accusation was based on the fact that the Bill had come up for Second Reading late on a Wednesday afternoon when very few Members were in the Chamber. Picton contended that the Bill had 'a decidedly low place on the Paper' and it had come on 'by a mere accident.' (c. 493)

Government to ask local authorities for their opinions on measures before the House. On the question of the letters in the Daily News, Mr. Smith replied:

'I am not overwhelmed with the Hon. Gentleman's authorities....notwithstanding four letters to a newspaper, the Government intend to persevere with this Measure.'(1)

Angered by the continued questioning of the school board supporters, Mr. Smith said:

'There can be no question that the very large majority of the House anxiously desire that this Bill should pass...Let us go at once to a Division and see who it is that opposes the Bill...We are not entitled to consider the opinions of those who are not in the House attending to their Parliamentary duties.'(2)

Whether it was by accident or design, the number of Members in the House of Commons for such an important Debate was very small and only 116 voted on each of the two Amendments which were accepted. Hart Dyke refused to accept an Amendment from Mr. Channing which proposed that the Local Authority could only be responsible in areas where there were no school Boards.(3) Mr. Woodhead then made an attempt to introduce the Cowper-Temple Clause in any voluntary school which accepted the Grant from the rates for technical instruction. Hart Dyke refused to accept that Amendment, but proposed that where a scholar attended a voluntary school purely for the purpose of receiving the technical instruction being given in that school, the scholar would not have to attend the religious teaching being given in that school.(4)

The Bill went to the Lords on 29th. August, and received the Royal Assent on 30th. August, 1889. When several of the Lords protested that the Bill had not been fully debated in their Chamber, Lord Salisbury assured them that he had no grounds for believing that 'even if it was considered at greater length, anybody would be disposed to disturb a settlement which provided a satisfactory arrangement of a difficult controversy.'(5)

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 26th. August, 1889. c. 488.

(2) Ibid. c.494.

(3) Ibid. c.507. Mr. Channing was Member for Northampton. Sir John Gorst quoted Northamptonshire, which had 40 school boards, one of which was in an area of less than 200 people, as an example as the worst kind of authority.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 26th. August, 1889. c. 552; c.554.

(5) Ibid. 29th. August, 1889. c.820

To silence any further complaints from the Liberal Peers, Lord Salisbury said the Bill was 'simply an ordinary money Bill.'(1)

Mr. Illingworth, a staunch defender of the school boards, had announced his intention of introducing a Bill making school boards compulsory in all parts of the country, since the debate on the Technical Instruction Bill had exposed the weakness of the school boards' position as it then existed. Cardinal Manning wrote to Sir Francis Sandford:

'Let us at once have a draft Bill ready to publish as soon as Illingworth's appears...Your Memorandum(2) can be thrown into the shape of a Bill with ease... Unless something intelligible is put out, the Church of England will have nothing to rally to...(3)

But the difficulty of the school boards' position was too great for Illingworth to master, and no Bill appeared. By the end of 1889, technical instruction in board schools and voluntary schools was being funded out of the rates. In those areas where no board schools existed, the County Councils paid for the instruction in the voluntary schools.

It was purely fortuitous that an additional source of revenue for funding technical instruction became available at this time. The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1889 had put severe regulations on the sale of alcohol, and the number of public houses licensed to sell drink was much reduced. Originally, a clause in the Act allowed an additional tax to be levied on the sale of alcohol to compensate publicans who had lost their means of livelihood because of the Act. There was a great deal of opposition in Parliament to this clause, and eventually it was agreed that this 'Whiskey Money' or 'Beer Money' as it was called, should be paid to the County Councils to finance technical instruction or to reduce the rates.(4) By the end of March, 1894, the aggregate amount

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 29th. August, 1889, c. 822-3. The Lords could not reject any Bill dealing with finance.

(2) Sandford's Reservation to the Report of the Cross Commission, entitled, 'As to the Mode of Bringing Education within the Scope of the Local Government Act.' The suggestion was that the County Councils were best suited to the administration of education.

(3) The Manning Papers, Manning to Sandford, 30th. December, 1889.

(4) There is an account of the operation of the Act in The British Journal of Education and History, December, 1968, 'The Entry of the County Councils into British Educational Administration.' See also, Rae, J.: 'The Work of the Beer Money,' in The Contemporary Review, October, 1894, p. 508 et seq.

received by the 48 County Councils out of the Duties was £1,684,288. Of this, £1,025,583 had been expended on education under the Technical Instruction Act and an additional sum of £438,635 was appropriated to the same purpose and carried forward.(1)

So far as the Catholic elementary schools were concerned, it was the principle established by the 1889 Act which was important. The Catholic schools derived very little financial benefit from the Act, since they were barely able to keep up with the demands of the Codes, much less to inaugurate any schemes of technical education. But, however little it was realised at the time, the legislation enacted in the County Councils Act and the Technical Instruction Act had sealed the fate of the school boards.

- (1) From the Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, (The Bryce Report) 1895, p. 32.
- (2) The Annual Reports of the Committee of Council suggest that Catholic elementary schools received £600 in County Council Grants between 1894 and 1900. (Source: Summary in the Annual Report of the Board of Education, 1900, pp.486 - 7. Schools of the British and Foreign Schools Society, whose attendance figures over the period were almost identical with those of the Catholic schools, received £52,238.)

THE FREE SCHOOL ACT, (1891)

In an article in The Dublin Review in 1897, Cardinal Vaughan discussed the 'natural effect on the Catholics of England of board schools possessing an unlimited and exclusive supply of Public money.' (1) He wrote, 'Doles and compromises, quarter-measures and half-measures, are the expedients of weakness and cowardice....they confuse issues, giving as much to injustice as to justice. The cause of the Catholic schools 'is not to be whittled away and imperilled by fighting for part of it....our duty is to fight on, if necessary for years.' The reference to 'doles and compromises' was an indication of the Cardinal's opinion of the grants made under the terms of the Acts of 1891 and 1897.

So far as the Act of 1891 was concerned, 'free schools' had long been a demand of the Liberal Party. When Hart Dyke introduced his Education Bill (2) he was confident of the support of both sides of the House. It was a simple Bill. Every child attending a public elementary school would qualify for an annual grant of ten shillings, subject to two conditions. The child would have to be between the ages of five and fourteen years, and the school would have to undertake to provide free education. If a school continued to charge fees, the ten shillings grant would be reduced by the amount charged in fees, so that if the fees came to more than ten shillings, per child in average attendance, the school would receive no grant. Wherever board schools or voluntary schools continued to charge school fees, the Bill insisted that there would have to be sufficient school accommodation for children whose parents did not wish to pay fees.

In reply to a question in the House (3), Hart Dyke gave the following figures for the school fees paid in 1891:

4.8% paid no fees.	0.05% paid less than 1d. per week.
15.64% paid 1d. - 2d. per week.	37.03% paid 2d. - 3d. per week.
25.82% paid 3d. - 4d. per week.	12.91% paid 4d. - 6d. per week.
2.92% paid 6d. - 9d. per week.	0.05% paid more than 9d. per week.

(1) Vaughan, Herbert Cardinal: 'The Triangular Battle for Education' The Dublin Review, January, 1897, pp. 1 - 17.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 8th. June, 1891. Copies of the Bill were not available until the following day.

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 30th. June, 1891. c.1902.

Such figures, however, tend to obscure the true picture. Broadly speaking, in the north of the country high school fees and low school board rates were the rule; in the south, low school fees and high school board rates were more usual. But even within such areas there were wide differences in the fees charged. In 1896, when the Act had been in force for five years, voluntary schools in Birkenhead were paying on average 5s.11d. per scholar in school fees. In Hull, the corresponding figure was 1s.1d.. Most large school boards had abolished school fees entirely, but in Manchester the average fee charged was 3s.9d. and in Liverpool, 3s.2d..(1) The official statistics suggest that fees in Catholic schools were lower than in the other voluntary schools,(2), but there were exceptions to this rule, too.

Among Catholic elementary schools there were schools called 'select schools' and 'middle-class schools.' In such schools, the fees charged were comparatively high. For example, at St. Mary's, Battersea, fees were 9d. per week in 1894.(3) At the Everton Valley Higher Grade School in Liverpool, a similar fee was charged.(4) The Catholic Higher Grade School in Bury had a long dispute with the Education Department over the level of fees charged. In 1884, Kekewich issued a formal warning to the Managers about the level of fees charged at the school. The fees were then 1s. per week, but since the average of the fees actually paid came to a little over 9d. per week, the Department decided to take no action.(5) Fees in the voluntary schools had risen steadily between 1870 and 1890, although the fees in the board schools had remained constant. But it was the increased spending by the board schools, backed by the school rate, which compelled the voluntary schools to increase their fees.(6)

The Conservative Government must have regarded the measure as a mere stop-gap. Since it gave as much to the board schools as to the voluntary schools, it could hardly be considered as being of any great assistance to the voluntary schools in their struggle

(1) Statistics from the Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1896 - 97, Table J. A study of the Minutes of the meetings of the Liverpool Education Committee, 1903 - 1914, show that fees were charged in council schools and voluntary schools in Liverpool until 1914.

(2) See Diagram 6, p.104, and Table 2, p.105.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed. 21/239, dated 14th. November, 1894.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed. 21/283, dated 7th. March, 1893.

(5) P.R.O. File Ed.21/285, dated 12th. February, 1894.

(6) See Diagram 8, p. 129.

DIAGRAM 6

SCHOOL FEES, 1870-1900, IN BOARD AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS
 THE WEEKLY CHARGE IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT
 THE SCHOOLS WERE OPEN FOR 44 WEEKS IN THE YEAR.
 SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL
 FOR 1870, 1880, 1890 AND OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR 1900.

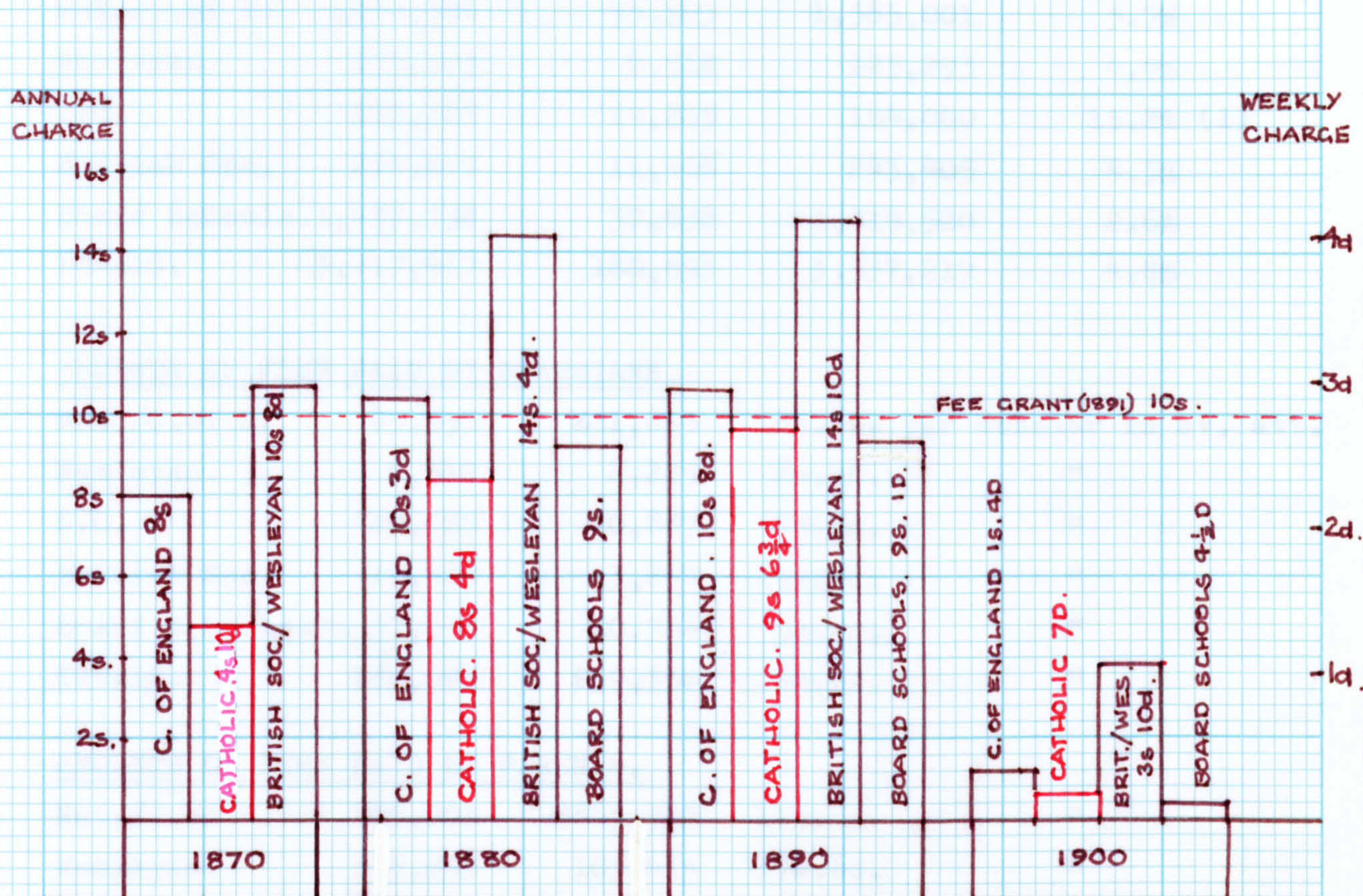


DIAGRAM 7

AMOUNTS PAID ANNUALLY, PER CHILD IN AVERAGE ATTENDANCE,
 IN VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS AND
 IN RATE AID TO THE BOARD SCHOOLS, 1870-1900,
 SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL
 FOR 1870, 1880, 1890 AND OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR 1900.

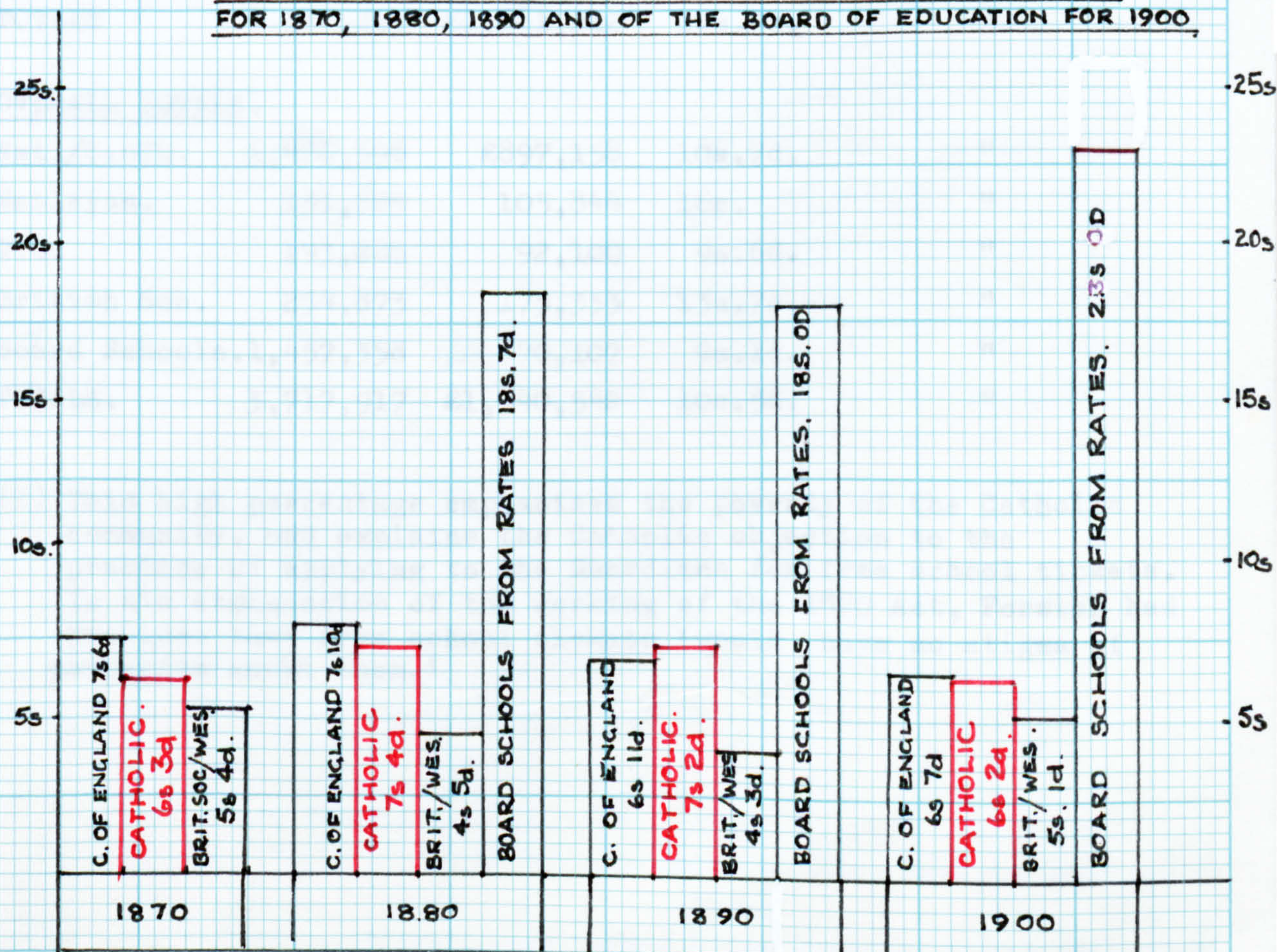


TABLE 2 . SCHOOL FEES, 1890 - 1891 (SOURCE: Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1890 - 1891.pp.318 - 319)

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>	<u>FEES PAID BY:</u>		
	<u>ATTENDANCE</u>	<u>GUARDIANS</u>	<u>PARENTS</u>	<u>% BY G'DNS.</u>
Nat./C.of E.	1,680,596	95,595	1,585,001	5.7%
Wesleyan.	131,805	6,512	125,293	4.9%
R.C.	193,285	29,285	164,000	15.2% (1)
British Soc.	254,873	11,468	243,405	4.5%
Board Schools.	1,457,358	37,838	1,419,520	2.6%
TOTALS.	3,717,917	180,698	3,537,219	4.8%

AMOUNTS OF FEES PAID BY GUARDIANS.

Nat./C.of E.	95,595	£31,643	6s.6d. per scholar in av. att.
Wesleyan.	6,512	2,229	6s.8d. "
R.C.	29,285	10,887	7s.3d. "
British Soc.	11,468	3,847	6s.6d. "
Board Schools.	37,838	10,724	5s.6d. "
TOTALS.	180,698	£59,330	6s.6d. "

AMOUNTS OF FEES PAID BY PARENTS.

Nat./C.of E.	1,585,001	£865,515	11s. "
Wesleyan.	125,293	103,614	17s.6d. "
R.C.	164,000	81,213	10s. "
British Soc.	243,405	171,485	14s. "
Board Schools.	1,419,520	659,382	9s.2d. "
TOTALS	3,537,219	£1,881,212	10s.7d. "

OVERALL TOTALS.

Nat./C.of E.	1,680,596	£897,158	10s.7d. "
Wesleyan.	131,805	105,844	16s. "
R.C.	193,285	92,100	9s.6d. "
British Soc.	254,873	175,333	13s.7d. "
Board Schools.	1,457,358	670,107	9s.1d. "
TOTALS.	3,717,917	£1,940,542	10s.5d. "

(1) This high percentage emphasises the poverty of the Catholic community, and explains the Catholic objection to the practice of applying to the Guardians for free school tickets. In his explanation of the working of the 1870 Act, Forster had promised that free school tickets 'would have no stigma of pauperism about them.'

to raise their standards to those of the board schools. The Conservative Member, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen warned the Government that the Bill was an advance towards socialism 'not in accordance with Conservative principles.' (1) On a more sarcastic note, the Liberal, Mr. Picton, a supporter of the school boards, suggested that as the Government had not given their Bill a name, it could be assumed it was not a legitimate offspring of Toryism.' (2) He considered it to be a double-barrelled Measure, 'one object of it is to diminish school fees, the other is to stop the advance of the school boards.' (3) Even some Anglicans had doubts about the value of the Bill. In a letter to The Times, Rev. Joseph Diggle warned against giving parents the right to demand free education for their children. 'The managers of the non-board schools, now in high glee at the increase in income which the Bill will bring into their funds, do not appear to realise the danger which may be concealed...' (4) In the same edition of that paper, an editorial attacked the Bill for not going far enough to help the voluntary schools by abolishing the 17s.6d. limit on grant earnings. Was it reasonable, the editorial asked, to keep back £40,000, 'the sweepings which the 17s.6d. limit scrapes together' when the money which the voluntary schools' buildings had cost since 1872 would, if invested, yield an annual subsidy of eight shillings per scholar. (5)

Another Conservative Member, Mr. Bartley, obviously had the Catholic community in mind when he proposed his Amendment. He sought 'to amend the present system by which the remission of school fees is obtained through the Poor Law Guardians by parents who cannot afford to pay the fees.' If this were done, the Bill would be unnecessary. (6) The school board lobby saw through this suggestion, and denounced the whole Bill as an attempt 'to postpone the arrival of a universal school board system..and to protect and to increase the security of the position of the voluntary schools.' (7) When Hart Dyke reminded the House of the financial contributions which were made to their schools by the denominations, Mr. Fowler quoted the statement of the Bishop of Wakefield that

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 9th. June, 1891, c.33.

(2) It was described on the Order Paper as 'Elementary Education Bill, (No.355)'

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 22nd. June, 1891, cc. 1099 - 1100.

(4) The Times, 22nd. June, 1891.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Parliamentary Debates, 22nd. June, 1891. cc.1107 - 1116. The Voluntary Schools Association had raised this issue in 1884. See p.41 supra.

(7) Parliamentary Debates, 22nd. June, 1891. c.1122. Speech by Mr. Channing.

voluntary contributions to the schools in the large towns amounted to 3s.6d. per scholar annually. 'What right have people who contribute 3s.6d. per head to claim exclusive control and management of the schools?' he asked. Mr. Fowler went on to describe the position of the schools in Stockport, where there were 22 voluntary schools and no school board. Four of the voluntary schools received no voluntary contributions at all, yet the managers claimed the right to control them. If the Bill became law, the whole of the cost of maintaining the schools in Stockport would fall on the Exchequer, but the managers would still control them.(1)

It was Joseph Chamberlain who reminded Mr. Fowler that there was now 'no possibility of any Government gaining control of the voluntary schools.' He went on, 'Anyone who tried to do so will have to meet the opposition of the Roman Catholics, and with whole areas in which there are neither school boards nor board schools, the position is hopeless.'(2) When Mr. Fowler retorted that the Wesleyans had asked that the principle of popular control should be applied to their schools, Chamberlain asked him if the Roman Catholics wanted their schools brought under popular control, because 'there is no possible distinction you can make between the Roman Catholics and the other denominational schools.' He then quoted from an article written by Rev. Dr. Dale(3) in which he expressed his regret that the denominational schools had become too strong 'for it to be possible to transfer the powers of their managers to the school boards...'(4)

One of the Irish Members present, Colonel Nolan, reminded Chamberlain that the Catholics had no objection whatever to popular control of their schools, provided that 'the persons taking part shall be of the same religious denomination as the parents of the children attending the school.' But since there was only one constituency in the country in which the Catholics were in a majority(5) there were many areas in which the Catholics would not receive fair

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 29th. June, 1891, cc. 1742 - 3.

(2) Ibid. cc.1760 - 1763.

(3) Rev. Dr. Dale, a member of the Birmingham School Board and a Nonconformist Minister in that city, had clashed with Cardinal Manning in the articles in The Nineteenth Century between December, 1882 and February, 1883. (See p. 33 - 36 supra.)

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 29th. June, 1891. c. 1764.

(5) Presumably this was the Liverpool (Scotland) constituency which during the whole of its existence was represented by two Members, both of whom were Catholics. They were T.P. O'Connor and David Logan.

treatment. To prove his point, Colonel Nolan said that there were upwards of a hundred cases in which Catholics had been refused permission by school boards to establish a Catholic school by the side of a board school. (1)

Sir Henry Howorth felt that the Conservatives should not be too worried about the Liberal threat to destroy the voluntary schools. 'They have to deal with the 86 Irishmen who form their Praetorian Guard and who are committed to the defence of voluntary education far more completely than any champions of Protestantism can be ...' (2)

The issue of 'suitable schools' was raised again during the Debate. The free education would have to be provided in a suitable school, but a Lords' Amendment ruled that a parent could not reject the free education offered simply on the grounds that the parent considered the school 'unsuitable.' A.J. Mundella strongly objected to the Amendment on the grounds that it would be possible for Protestant parents to have to send their children to Catholic schools although they considered the schools unsuitable. Mr. Addison reminded Mundella that the same argument could be used to forward the case for universal school boards with board schools as the only schools considered suitable. (3) But the Bill survived and received the Royal Assent on 5th. August, 1891. It came into force on 1st. October, 1891.

So far as the Catholic schools were concerned, the Act did little or nothing to improve their financial position. In fact, it could be argued that by providing equal amounts of money for both board schools and voluntary schools, the Act made the position of the voluntary schools worse than ever. By simply maintaining the school board rate at the existing level, the board schools were able to spend the amount of the fee-grant in improving the standard of the board schools.

Cardinal Manning had little time for the Bill. He saw it as a mere stop-gap which would do nothing for the long-term future of the schools. He wrote to Sir Francis Sandford to say that 'the more I think of this fee-grant Bill, the less I like it....It ought

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 29th. June, 1891. c.1766. The Annual Reports of the Committee of Council show that between 1875 and 1901, 82 such applications from voluntary schools were refused, 38 from Catholic schools. 11 of the 38 were in Wales.

(2) The Times, 16th. June, 1891.

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 30th. July, 1891. c. 1366.

to be a detail in a complete measure... I am much afraid of freeing standards instead of payments...' (1) In a later but undated letter to Sir Francis, the Cardinal advised acceptance of the Bill, with an Amendment to insert the words, 'Provided that the religious liberty of the school shall forever be guarded by Statute Law.' (2) J.G. Talbot, the Cardinal's colleague on the Cross Commission, wrote to the Cardinal to explain his reason for voting for the Bill:

'If we do not come to terms now, we shall find it harder to do hereafter... I am much afraid that the Government have over-estimated their power to safeguard the voluntary schools, but, at any rate, they wish to do so.... the other side have told us frankly that they want universal school boards... their feelings towards the voluntary schools are believed to be hostile in the main... We had better make the best of the Bill and see how we can pass it on the most favourable terms...' (3)

But right to the end the Cardinal considered the question of free education to be quite irrelevant to the main issue, viz. equality of treatment for board schools and voluntary schools. In a Pastoral Letter read in the Archdiocese on 14th. June, 1891, a few days before the Cardinal's 83rd. birthday, he wrote:

'We have now reached a moment in which the Christian education of England will either be secured by the Statute Law or undermined by political contentions... Neither of the systems can become national, neither can be extinguished... Both must now exist... A new legislative Act, with higher and juster powers of administration has become absolutely necessary.' (4)

Virginia Crawford recorded in her diary:

'The Cardinal is absolutely opposed to the Government's Education Bill... he dislikes the principle of free education altogether, although the ten shillings a head grant is very advantageous to the Catholic schools where half of the children are educated free.... the Cardinal calls the profit blood-money... I think he regards the principle as transferring the duty of education entirely to the State, thus weakening parental authority...' (5)

(1) The Manning Papers, Manning to Sandford, 14th. June, 1891.

(2) Ibid. Undated.

(3) The Manning Papers. J.G. Talbot to Manning, 22nd. June, 1891.

(4) From the copy of the Pastoral Letter in the Manning Papers.

(5) Leslie, Sir S.: 'Virginia Crawford, Sir Charles Dilke and Cardinal Manning,' The Dublin Review, Autumn, 1967. From Virginia Crawford's Diary, entry for 3rd. July, 1891. p. 196.

As things turned out, the 1891 Act was the last piece of legislation on the schools' question which the Cardinal ever saw. He had been in failing health for some time, and he died in January, 1882. Lord Cranbrook wrote in his diary:

'Cardinal Manning died yesterday. He has filled a great place but, irrespective of his religion, I distrusted his social views very much.' (1)

But he was favourably impressed by the Cardinal's successor, Archbishop (later Cardinal) Vaughan. Lord Cranbrook recorded:

'On Monday evening I received a strong deputation on the relief of schools from rates...The new Archbishop of Westminster struck me a good deal. He has a fine appearance and a winning manner.' (2)

Oddly enough, almost all of Cardinal Manning's biographers speak of the 1891 Act as a triumph for the Cardinal's efforts for the voluntary schools, and quite overlook the fact that he had never been in favour of free schooling. For example, Taylor wrote:

'Before he died, he had the satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of his principles in the 10s. granted by the Free Education Act for each child in the voluntary schools.' (3)

McEntee wrote:

'Thus the Cardinal's cause triumphed in a way superior in its effects even to the sharing of the rates...' (4)

Cardinal Gasquet wrote of his fellow-Cardinal:

'When the Free Education Act was passed, he saw the partial success of what he had urged for years...' (5)

McClelland saw the Act as 'the only immediate implementation of the findings of the Cross Commission...One year before his death, Manning was able to witness this great change for the better.' (6)

But neither the Majority Report nor the Minority Report of that Commission had actually recommended free education in the elementary schools. The Majority Report had stated that

(1) The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, ed. Johnson, N. Oxford, 1981. Entry for 15th. January, 1892.

(2) Ibid. Entry for 18th. May, 1892.

(3) Taylor, I.A. 'The Cardinal Democrat' London, 1904. pp. 37 - 38. The Grant was paid to board schools as well as to voluntary schools.

(4) McEntee, G. 'The Catholic Social Movement in Great Britain.' London, 1927. p. 46.

(5) Gasquet, Aidan Cardinal. 'Cardinal Manning' Catholic Truth Society pamphlet, 1895.

(6) McClelland, V.A. 'Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence, 1865 - 1892.' London, 1962. p. 86.

'Provision of the due necessities of education, as well as of the necessities of life, is part of the responsibility incumbent upon parents..... It is recommended that the existing system, whereby parents who could afford to pay fees did so, be continued.(1)

But the Majority Report had recommended that every public State-aided elementary school should receive from the local rates 'an amount equal to the voluntary subscriptions, provided that it does not exceed the amount of ten shillings for each child in average attendance.'(2) Clearly, the object of this recommendation was not that the ten shillings should be in lieu of fees, but that the State should encourage parents and others to support the schools by making contributions so that the State would match them, up to the 10s. limit.

The Minority Report admitted that 'no practical scheme for universal free education consistent with the continuance of the voluntary school system has been presented to us...' But the Report recommended that if a school board wanted to establish free schools, the consent of the Education Department would not be required.' (3)

Meanwhile, so far as the implementation of the 1891 Act was concerned, two aspects were of serious consequence to the Catholic schools. These were the confining of the Grant to children between the ages of five and fourteen years, and the treatment of 'half-timers.' Diagram 3, p.27, illustrates the position with regard to the age limits. Catholic children appeared to start school at an early age (12% were under the age of 5 years and no fee-grant would be paid for them.) At the other end of the scale, the percentage of children at school after the age of ten years was lower in the Catholic schools. Hence, at this end of the scale, Catholic schools would do less well than the other schools.(4)

So far as the 'half-timers' were concerned, 7.5% of these were in Catholic schools, although only 5.3% of the elementary school population attended Catholic schools. As the grant was paid at half the rate for the half-timers, the 13,205 attending Catholic schools would qualify for a grant of some £3,300 instead

(1) Cross Commission, Final Report, 1888. p.200

(2) Ibid. p.194.

(3) Ibid.

(4) In 1890, there were 30,532 under 5's in the Catholic schools.
(Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1890-91.p.292-3.

of £6,600. Voluntary school supporters felt very strongly about such limitations in the scope of the Act. On 20th. June, 1891, a conference at Preston Town Hall, which was attended by representatives of Anglican and Catholic churches, passed a resolution asking Parliament to approve five amendments to the Bill to make it more helpful to the voluntary schools. The amendments sought to include three-year olds in the scheme, to count recognised half-timers as full-time scholars, to remove the 17s.6d. limit and allow that where schools opened for 45 weeks in the year, the grant should be 11s.3d. per scholar, to remove any restriction on the fees charged for scholars above the age-limit of the Bill, and to class each department in a school as a separate school, so that poor attendance in one department would not affect the overall attendance in the school.(1)

One very worrying aspect of the Bill from the Catholic point of view was the insistence that free education must be available for all children whose parents required it. This meant that in an area where there was no school board and the voluntary schools were not willing to provide free education, 'the Department shall require the deficiency to be supplied in accordance with the Public Education Act of 1870.' In other words, a school board and board schools would have to be established to provide free education.(2) The Hierarchy realised that Catholic parents could not be asked to pay fees to send their children to a Catholic school when free education was available in a local board school. In Bishop Vaughan's Diocese of Salford, the Act deprived the managers of Catholic schools of some £3,000, but saved the parents £15,000.(3) Of the 217 schools which applied to the Education Department for permission to increase fees to more than 3d. per week, which was the limit allowed under the Act, 12 were Catholic schools. Three of the twelve schools, all in Lancashire, were given the necessary permission.(4) The maximum fee which could be charged if the school was to qualify for the elementary school grant was 6d. per week. The percentage of scholars who paid such a fee was highest in the Catholic schools, although the actual number is too small to have any

(1) The Times, 22nd. June, 1891. Figures for half-timers, Table 3, p.114.

(2) Under the Act, 129 school boards were established between 1893 and 1896. See Table 4, p.115.

(3) Snead-Cox, F.G.: Cardinal Vaughan, London. 1910. V.2, p.108.

(4) See Table 5, p.115.

real significance.(1)

It is doubtful if the Act had any effect on school attendance figures. Free schools had been introduced in Scotland in 1890. There, although the attendance figures for the under 7-year olds had increased by 11% compared with the figures in 1888, overall attendance had decreased from 77.35% of the numbers on the registers in 1888 to 77.16% of that figure in 1890. A t-test of significance of the attendance figures for the 1883 - 1891 period and the 1892 - 1900 period for schools in England and Wales suggests that there was no significant increase in attendance in the 1892 - 1900 period. The similarity between the figures for the schools nationally and the Catholic schools suggests that there were few, if any, of the Catholic school population who were prevented from attending school because of the inability to pay the fees or to have them paid for them.(2)

One interesting effect of the abolition of the school fees was the increase in the number of Saving Banks opened in the schools. Not suprisingly, the number of such banks opened in Catholic schools was less than the national average. From 72 open in 1890, the figure rose to 237 in 1896, but declined to 188 by the end of the century.(3)

(1) See Table 6, p.116.

(2) See Table 7, p.117.

(3) Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for 1890, 1896, and of the Board of Education for 1900.

TABLE 3. HALF-TIME SCHOLARS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, 1891 and 1899.1891.

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>NO. ON REG.</u>	<u>HALF-TIMERS</u>	<u>% OF HALF-TIMERS.</u>
Nat./C.E.	2,168,229	73,221	3.3%
Wesleyan.	174,773	16,083	9.2
R.C.	255,777	13,205	5.2
Br. Soc.	329,732	27,436	8.3
Bd. Sch.	1,875,638	45,492	2.5

1899.

Nat./C.E.	2,314,880	38,434	1.6
Wesleyan.	155,294	7,707	5.0
R.C.	311,621	7,823	2.5
Br. Soc.	280,401	13,765	4.9
Bd. Sch.	2,591,896	27,892	1.1

HALF-TIME SCHOLARS AND THE FEE GRANT.

(The figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for 1891 and 1899. These Reports give the numbers of half-time scholars on the registers, but not the average attendance. For the purpose of the calculation, it has been assumed that the average attendance of the half-time scholars was the same as that of the full time scholars, whose attendance figures are given in the Reports.)

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>1891.</u>		<u>1899.</u>	
	<u>AV. ATTEND.</u>	<u>GRANT LOST.</u>	<u>AV. ATTEND.</u>	<u>GRANT LOST.</u>
Nat./C.E.	56,746	£14,186	31,439	£7,860
Wesleyan.	12,126	3,031	6,219	1,554.
R.C.	9,983	2,495	6,227	1,556
Br. Soc.	21,208	5,302	11,273	2,818
Bd. Sch.	35,347	8,836	23,010	5,752

Between 1891 and 1899, the numbers of half-time scholars nationally declined by 42%, but the number of half-time scholars in the Catholic schools declined by only 37%.

TABLE 4. INCREASES IN THE NUMBERS OF SCHOOL BOARDS AND THE
NUMBERS OF SCHOOL BOARDS ESTABLISHED COMPULSORILY,
1890 - 1899.

<u>DATE.</u>	<u>ENGLAND.</u>		<u>WALES.</u>		<u>EST. COMPULSORILY.</u>
	<u>BOROUGHES</u>	<u>PARISHES</u>	<u>BOROUGHES</u>	<u>PARISHES</u>	
1890	143	1,830	19	282	11
1891	143	1,839	19	285	6
1892	144	1,848	20	285	7
1893	147	1,875	20	288	19
1894	156	1,922	21	292	43
1895	158	1,970	22	301	45
1896	159	1,999	23	305	22
1897	162	1,997	23	310	7
1898	163	2,001	23	314	9
1899	165	2,004	23	318	7
% incr.	26%	12.7%	35%	14%	

Source: Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for the relevant years. The figures suggest that, in order to provide free schools, 129 school boards were established compulsorily between 1893 and 1896.

TABLE 5 INCREASES IN FEES IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AFTER 1891.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NO. OF APPLICATIONS.</u>	<u>NO. ALLOWED.</u>
1891-2	2	NIL.
1892-3	4	3
1893-4	2	NIL.
1894-5	1	NIL.
1895-6	NIL.	
1896-7	1	NIL.
1897-8	1	NIL.
1898-9	1	NIL.
TOTALS	12	3.

Nationally there were 123 applications to increase fees to 6d per week granted, 3 from Catholic schools. 94 applications were refused, 9 from Catholic schools.

Source: Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for the relevant years.

TABLE 6. THE FEE GRANT IN OPERATION.

The Annual Report of the Committee of Council for 1895-6 gives the following details of the way the Act had worked by 1896:

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>FREE SCHOLARS</u>	<u>PAYING SCHOLARS</u>	<u>% PAYING.</u>
Nat./C.E.	1,823,623	474,036	20.6%
Wesleyan.	68,828	88,649	56.3%
R.C.	273,360	21,267	7.2%
Brit. Soc.	197,863	88,592	30.9%
Board Sch.	2,298,168	88,603	3.7%
<u>TOTALS.</u>	4,661,842	761,147	14.0%

As in Table 2, the figures emphasise the poverty of the Catholic community whose children attended the schools. Catholic schools were the responsibility of the whole parish and not merely of the parents whose children attended the schools. Probably it was the closely-knit structure of the Catholic parish which made this possible.

NUMBERS OF THE FEE-PAYING SCHOLARS PAYING 6D. PER WEEK AND ABOVE

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>NO. PAYING 6D.+</u>	<u>% OF PAYING SCHOLARS.(1)</u>
Nat./C.E.	11,547	2.4%
Wesleyan.	2,800	3.1%
R.C.	1,057	4.9%
Brit. Soc.	2,707	3.0%
Board Sch.	44	0.05%
<u>TOTALS</u>	18,155	2.3%

(1) This is the percentage of the fee-paying scholars paying more than 6d. per week. Since the percentage of Catholic scholars paying fees was so low, this percentage may appear unduly high, but it is a high percentage of a low original percentage.

TABLE 7. FREE SCHOOLS AND ATTENDANCE FIGURES.t-TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE OF PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN ATTENDANCE
FIGURES FOR THE PERIODS 1883 - 1891 and 1892 - 1900.

The Annual Reports of the Committee of Council give the following figures for the attendance in elementary schools nationally and in Roman Catholic schools for the years before and after the passing of the 1891 Act. (The 1900 figures are from the Report of the Board of Education for that year.) The percentage increases in attendance, year on year, were calculated. The t-test of significance was then applied to each set of percentage increases to see if the increases after 1891 were significantly bigger than such increases for the period before 1891.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>R.C. SCHOOLS</u>	<u>% INCREASE.</u>	<u>NATIONALLY.</u>	<u>% INCREASE.</u>
1883	160,910	5.4	3,015,151	5.2
1884	162,310	0.9	3,127,214	3.7
1885	167,841	3.4	3,273,124	4.6
1886	172,849	2.9	3,371,325	3.0
1887	180,701	4.5	3,470,509	2.9
1888	184,800	2.2	3,527,381	1.6
1889	188,086	1.7	3,614,967	2.5
1890	189,902	0.9	3,696,525	2.25
1891	193,285	1.8	3,717,917	0.5
1892	195,056	0.9	3,749,956	0.8
1893	201,304	3.2	3,870,774	3.2
1894	214,653	6.6	4,100,030	5.9
1895	223,057	3.9	4,225,834	3.0
1896	230,392	3.2	4,325,030	4.3
1897	235,505	2.2	4,422,911	2.2
1898	240,784	2.2	4,488,543	1.4
1899	245,028	1.7	4,554,165	1.4
1900	248,293	1.3	4,636,938	1.8

t-TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE (16df)

R.C. SCHOOLS 0.22 NOT SIGNIFICANT.
NATIONALLY 0.42 NOT SIGNIFICANT.

SIR JOHN GORST'S BILL, 1896.

(In 1892, the General Election resulted in Gladstone being returned to form his third Ministry. True to the promises he had given, he introduced the Irish Home Rule Bill, which the Commons passed by 34 votes. When the Lords refused to ratify the Home Rule Bill, Gladstone put the issue to the country, but he was defeated and Lord Salisbury's Conservative Government took office in 1895, but relied upon the votes of the Liberal Unionists to keep them in office. So, once again the prospect of any real assistance for the voluntary schools had to be shelved.)

During the three years of Liberal administration, the lot of the voluntary schools became more and more difficult. In spite of the 1891 Act, the gap between the amounts spent on maintenance in board schools and in voluntary schools grew wider.(1) School board rates seemed to be increasing at an alarming speed in many of the large cities.(2) The Catholic Hierarchy were in a difficult position inasmuch as there was a large body of opinion in the Anglican community which still rejected the need for any support from the rates, and publicly re-affirmed their willingness to continue to provide the necessary voluntary contributions. In September, 1896, the Oxford Diocesan Conference approved a resolution to reject all attempts to secure rate aid for the Anglican schools. Such aid 'implies local control, and local control would include the appointment of teachers...and imply undenominational religious education...Since 1870, rate aid has consistently been connected with undenominational religious education...'(3) The Conservative Peer, Lord Cranbourne, spoke out against such ideas, claiming that 'if the voluntary school managers reject rate-aid, the relief they reject will be no more than temporary...it may serve to postpone the evil day when the voluntary schools will be at the mercy of a hostile Government...'(4)

When Parliament re-assembled in January, 1896, the supporters of the voluntary schools were encouraged to hear that there would be 'further assistance to elementary schools under

(1) See Diagram 1, p.18.

(2) By 1896, the school board rate in London was 11½d., and over £3 per scholar was being spent annually. Other high spenders were Leeds (14d.) Sheffield (13d.) Nottingham (13d.) and Birmingham (11½d.) For a defence of the London School Board's policy's see Bruce, G.L.: 'The London School Board Rate' in The Contemporary Review, April, 1896.

(3) C.A. Cripps in a letter to The Times, 3rd. October, 1896.

(4) Ibid.

voluntary management.' But the Bill which Sir John Gorst introduced in the House on 31st. March, 1896, seemed to many Members to go far beyond anything implied in such a statement. Joseph Chamberlain, on whose Liberal Unionists the Government relied to remain in office, had been given a copy of the proposed Bill in January, 1895. He wrote to the Duke of Devonshire, the Lord President of the Council:

'These are the maddest proposals I have seen in the course of my life...they would absolutely break down, in the interests of the Church and the Roman Catholics, the compromise of 1870... I have fully recognised the necessity of making great concessions to the feelings of my present allies...but I could not hold up my head for a day if I consented to such a Bill as is now suggested.' (1)

In introducing his Bill, Sir John reminded the House that four out of every seven children in the land were being educated in voluntary schools. Whatever views statesmen had on voluntary schools, 'there seems very little prospect of them disappearing within any definite time...the Roman Catholics boast that they have never surrendered a single one of their schools to a school board.' But there was another and a more practical reason why voluntary schools should not disappear:

'I am advised that there are 3,620,805 places in voluntary schools(2) which would have to be re-provided. At a cost of £7 per place, £25,345,635 would have to be found to provide schools for the children now being educated in voluntary schools... It seems to me that this £25 million and an annual expense of £2,250,000 is a very solid objection to the abolition of the voluntary schools...(3)

Gorst went on to make special mention of the terrible struggle which the Catholic schools had to keep going.

'Their schools are supported, some by religious Orders, by begging appeals, by sales of work, by concerts, and by the subscriptions of the very poorest people...but in spite of it all, the provision per head of the scholars in these schools which the managers are able to make is far below that which is provided in the board schools.(4)

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- (1) Garvin, J.L. : 'The Life of Joseph Chamberlain' 6 vol. London, 1932-69. v.III, p. 154.
- (2) But the average attendance in 1895 was only 2,445,812 or 67% of the places. (Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1896, p. LXXiii)
- (3) Parliamentary Debates, 31st. March, 1896. c. 528.
- (4) Ibid. c. 529.

As a specific example of the problems of the Catholic schools, Gorst quoted the increase in teachers' salaries. In six years, the salary bill in one school in Westminster, had risen from £605 to £947 per annum; in Salford, the increase in one school had been from £981 to £1,282. Even so, the difference between the cost of teaching staffs in board schools and voluntary schools amounted to 9s.4d. for each child in average attendance. The acceptance of so many 'supplementary' teachers(1) in the voluntary schools was a very bad arrangement. 'My poverty, not my will, consented to it.'(2)

Gorst was at pains to point out that it was not only voluntary schools which would benefit from the proposals. As well as a grant of 4s. per child in the voluntary schools, a similar grant would be made to children being educated by necessitous school boards. He quoted the case of the Forest of Dean where the school board rate was 2s.5d. in the £ and the London Borough of West Ham, where the rate was 2s.4d. (3)

But the death-knell of the Bill was sounded when Gorst went on to explain two other proposals in his Bill. The first was that 'the Education Authority shall be the County Council, acting through a statutory Education Committee, thus setting aside the authority of the school boards.' The second was that 'in every elementary school, one of the conditions for receiving a grant is that if a reasonable number of the parents of children require to have separate religious instruction given to them, it is the duty of the managers of that school to permit of reasonable arrangements being made for allowing that religious instruction to be given.'(4)

Dyke Acland immediately asserted that, far from simply implementing assistance to the voluntary schools, the Bill 'proposed the most important change in the country's education system which had ever been seen.' However, the Bill passed its First Reading, and the Second Reading was fixed for

(1) Supplementary teachers were women teachers without any academic qualifications.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 31st. March, 1896, c. 529.

(3) Section 97 of the Act of 1870 provided that where a 3d. rate provided less than 7s.6d. per head for scholars attending the board's schools, the Government would make the product of the 3d. rate up to 7s.6d. In answer to a question (P.D. 30th. April, 1896, Gorst estimated that, under the Bill, necessitous School Boards would receive £73,131, voluntary schools, £489,309.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed.10/11 contains the numerous petitions received in protest at these powers of the County Councils.

5th. May, 1896.(1)

During the intervening weeks, it became clear that the Bill was going to have a very stormy passage through the House. As the proposals stood, if a sufficient number of Catholic parents, whose children attended a board school or a Church of England school, demanded Catholic religious instruction for their children in that school, such instruction would have to be provided. A similar situation would arise if a number of children of Anglican parents were attending a Catholic school, for example in a 'single-school area.' Lyulph Stanley, the London School Board chairman, examined the suggestion that every parent had 'the inalienable right to have his child educated in his own religion at the public expense.' It would follow from this that Nonconformist and freethinker parents had similar rights. Stanley expressed the opinion that if the church schools were supported from the rates, and if churchmen elected a Church School Board to manage the schools in the same way as the school boards manage their board schools, the clergy would still be dissatisfied. 'A Roman Catholic School Board, elected by the Roman Catholic population of London, would be quite distasteful to Cardinal Vaughan.'(2)

When the Bill came up for Second Reading, Gorst spoke of the great disappointment he felt at the way the Bill's religious clause had been received.(3) Far from abolishing the Cowper-Temple teaching, his proposal was the only way in which the rights of the children of Nonconformist parents, forced to attend an Anglican school, could be safeguarded. The Catholic spokesman, Lord Edmund Talbot, voiced the Catholic dissatisfaction with the amount of the grant. He quoted the case of one school, St. Wilfred's School in Manchester. With 347 boys in average attendance, the school could hope to receive £69 8s. in the new Grant. But the requirements of the new Code would cost the managers £120.(4) Another Catholic Member, Mr. T.P. O'Connor, said that he would support the Bill, along with the Irish Nationalists, simply because of the help it would secure for the voluntary schools. But he assured the Nonconformists, 'the Catholics' truest friends'

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 31st. March, 1896. c. 544.

(2) Stanley, E.L. : 'Re-opening the Education Settlement of 1870' The Nineteenth Century, December, 1895, pp.917 et seq.

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 5th. May, 1896.

(4) Ibid.

that he considered that the Bill had in mind not so much the relief of the voluntary schools as the degrading of the school boards. (1)

On 22nd. June, 1896, A.J. Balfour, the First Lord of the Treasury, announced that the Bill was to be withdrawn. He explained that, up to that date, there were 1,238 Amendments down for discussion. These Amendments, covering 96 pages, would take up to 40 eight-hour days, 'not in debate, but in the healthy, if somewhat barren process of walking round and round the lobbies.' But there was to be little consolation for the Opposition in Balfour's announcement. He promised that the subject would be introduced again in the following January (1897) 'in order to fulfill our pledges to the voluntary schools....and to carry our aid to the furthest point our Imperial resources will permit.' (2)

The announcement was greeted with derisive jeers from the Liberals. An Irish Member, Sheaf O'Neill asked, 'Where's Gorst?' but the Vice-President did not appear. Sir William Harcourt, having proclaimed that nothing but good should be said of the dead, went on to say that they were there to bury the Bill, not to praise it. He promised Balfour that if the Bill which was due to appear in January was brought forward 'not with the object of destroying the school boards of England, but with the object of assisting those schools which might be assisted' it would not disappear as the withdrawn Bill had disappeared. (3)

Dillon, the Irish Member, blamed the Government for the failure of the Bill. Instead of introducing a simple Measure 'offering fair and generous treatment of the voluntary schools' the Government had brought in a Bill aimed at the destruction of the school board system. He then went on to make this remarkable statement:

'Statements had appeared from the Catholic Bishops in the country ...that if justice was done in the grant of public money for the voluntary schools, they would be willing to accept any measure of control in the voluntary schools

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 5th. May, 1896, c.732.

(2) Ibid. 22nd. June, 1896. cc.1572 - 1576.

(3) Ibid. 22nd June, 1896, cc. 1591

so long as this control would not destroy the religious character of the schools...'(1)

When Dillon sat down, Viscount Cranbourne expressed his sympathy with him in his task of having to please his Roman Catholic supporters in this country and 'to retain his connection with the gentlemen opposite.' He invited Dillon to 'ride one horse or the other.' If he was in favour of aiding the voluntary schools, he should act with those who had that object in view, and not to assist those whose expressed determination was to kill the voluntary schools.(2) Certainly, if the Government had really intended to carry out a complete re-organisation of the national education system, but had disguised it under the pretext of giving a measure of aid to the voluntary schools, they had completely misjudged the situation. Joseph Chamberlain noted that 'in Committee, five nights were taken up in passing two lines of one Amendment while 1,200 Amendments were waiting to be moved.' ...'John Morley likened the helpless Measure to 'a great stranded whale.'(3)

Cardinal Vaughan, now almost despairing of any settlement, wrote to The Times.(4) Catholic industrial schools and other Poor Law Institutions had 'considerable sums of money annually from the rates...Guardians of the Poor and School Board Members have gone in and out of these institutions for over twenty years..... I believe in their respect for guarantees...' On popular control the Cardinal said that on the elected boards of the Voluntary Schools Associations, local authorities could place their representatives to the extent of one quarter. He ended his letter with this plea:

'For how long are we to go on fighting? Is warfare of this kind to be our permanent condition? By all means, let those who distrust the policy of rate-aid cling to their policy of voluntary subscriptions... but, at least, let a just law be passed for the benefit of those who hold it to be a good policy to trust to the justice of their cause...'(5)

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- (1) Parliamentary Debates, 22nd June, 1896. cc. 1592-6. The state-
is a misleading one. All that the Cardinal had offered was
one representative in four on the Voluntary School Associations.
In November, 1901, he offered control 'in a proportion not
exceeding one-third.' (P.R.O. File Ed.24/17, Vaughan to
Morant, dated 3rd. November, 1901.)
- (2) Parliamentary Debates, 22nd. June, 1896. c.1596.
- (3) Garvin, J.L.: 'The Life of Joseph Chamberlain' 6v. 1932 - 1969
London. v.3. p. 154.
- (4) The Times, 10th. June, 1896.
- (5) Ibid.

In an editorial in the same newspaper a few days later, it was pointed out that in the previous year, when the London School Board increased its rate to the extent that an extra 3s. 9d. could be spent on each scholar, the grant earned by each scholar decreased by 3d.(1) Clearly, there were second thoughts about the value of spending increasing amounts of money on the board schools.

Anticipating the Bill which was promised for the New Year, two interesting solutions to the problems of the voluntary schools were put forward. One came from a member of the London School Board, Athelstan Riley. His suggestion, which owed something to Cardinal Vaughan's proposal to have an elected body to control the voluntary schools in an area, was that two Government grants should be paid to such a body for the voluntary schools it controlled. The first would be a graduated grant, amounting to two-fifths of the grant which the local school board paid in respect of each scholar in its schools. The second grant would be paid only if the school board grant for each scholar exceeded ten shillings, and would be equal to the amount by which such grant exceeded ten shillings. Comment on the proposal was favourable, since it would ensure that the contributions to the voluntary schools need not exceed six shillings per scholar each year to maintain parity with the board schools. But the voluntary schools would be almost wholly at the mercy of the Government, and a hostile Government would be able to curtail such grants.(2) Cardinal Vaughan's solution was that education, like any other commodity required by the State, should, at the option of the State, be provided or purchased. 'As a rule, the State finds it more economical to purchase than to manufacture...'. For this reason, rate-payers should have the choice to provide education by means of board schools or to purchase education by paying the voluntary schools.(3)

(1) See Table 1, p. 31. Correlation between the money spent in maintenance and the money earned in grant was much higher in voluntary schools than in board schools. 47.36% of the money spent in maintenance in Catholic schools was earned in grant. The corresponding figure for the board schools was 38.6%

(2) The Times, 4th. November, 1896.

(3) Ibid. 9th. January, 1897.

THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897, AND THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

The fact that a little over two months elapsed between the Bill's First Reading and its receiving the Royal Assent is an indication of the small amount of opposition there was to its passage.(1) It was a simple Bill, having only three Clauses. The first proposed a grant of five shillings a year for each scholar in average attendance at a voluntary school, provided that two conditions were fulfilled. The first condition was that each school would submit annually a statement of its accounts, to be audited in accordance with the regulations of the Education Department.(2) The second condition was that every voluntary school would join with other voluntary schools in its area to form an 'Association' and the total grant for all the schools in the Association would be paid so that the Association could allocate the money to the schools of greatest need. However, with the Catholic schools in mind, the Clause stated that it would not be deemed unreasonable if a school refused to join an Association the other members of which were of a different denomination. Otherwise, if a voluntary school refused to join an Association 'unreasonably' it would not receive the grant. The second Clause of the Bill at long last abolished the 17s.6d. limit on grant earnings; the third clause exempted all school premises, voluntary and board, from all rate payments. Along with the Voluntary Schools Act went an 'Elementary Education Act (1870) Amendment Act,' which gave financial assistance to necessitous school boards on the lines proposed in the 1896 Bill.(3)

Generally, the Act was welcomed. Lord Norton reminded the Liberal Opposition that 'the pauper claimant is not the voluntary schools, but the public, who cannot do without them...They have volunteered to make a gift of education to this nation.'(4) The Catholic Peer, Lord Herries, said the Catholic community accepted the grant as an instalment, but only as an instalment. 'Catholic priests will still be going up and down streets canvassing for subscriptions...little concerts to raise £2 or £3 to keep the school going.' He could feel little sympathy for the Nonconformists who 'suffered a grievance by having to send their

(1) First Reading, 1st. February, Royal Assent, 8th. April, 1897.

(2) The Department were unhappy about the accounts of Catholic schools. See p.131 - 132 infra.

(3) In the first year, voluntary schools would receive £619,475, necessitous school boards £91,000.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 30th. March, 1897. cc. 63 - 65.

children to Church schools.' If they were not satisfied, they could build schools of their own. 'In many parishes, there were not twenty Catholics, but they had a school of their own.' (1)

Cardinal Vaughan had no time for what he had described as 'doles and compromises, quarter-measures and half-measures.' He believed they simply 'confused the issue.' Such things 'gave as much to injustice as to justice...our duty is to fight on, if needful, for years.' (2) But the Brighton and Preston School Board, in a long letter of eight paragraphs roundly condemned an Act 'which would enable the voluntary schools to carry on without any voluntary contributions whatever.....and with no guarantee that the additional aid will be devoted to the increased efficiency of the education in the aided schools.' (3) There were also the complaints from many councils complaining at the loss of revenue they would suffer because of the remission of rates. The London County Council, optimistically, urged that provision should be made in the Bill to compensate councils and boroughs for the loss. (4)

But, overall, the implementation of the Act did very little to help the Catholic schools on any long-term basis. In 1896, there were 166 Catholic elementary schools in which expenditure exceeded income. In 1898, the number fell to 117. By 1899, it had risen to 149, and by 1900, there were 245 such schools. (5) Table 8 (p.127) illustrates the difficulties which faced the Catholic schools even after the implementation of the 1897 Act. It was possible to spend almost exactly 5s. extra on each scholar by 1899, but the gap between the expenditure in the board schools and the Catholic schools was still around 12s. 6d. per scholar in average attendance.

Additionally, H.M. Inspectors were concerned lest the money paid in the grant should be used in any unauthorised way. Improvements to school premises, payment of interest on mortgages, redemption of mortgages were all ruled to be outside the scope of

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 30th. March, 1897, cc.65 - 66.

(2) Vaughan, Herbert Cardinal: 'The Triangular Battle for Education,' The Dublin Review, January, 1897, pp. 1 - 17.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.31/13, Doc. 17632, 18th. February, 1897. The Brighton School Board spent £3 4s. on each scholar in its schools in 1900, more, even, than the London School Board.

(4) Ibid. Doc. 2456Y. 19th. March, 1897. In London, the loss of rates on school buildings was claimed to be £101,642 on the board schools and £8,666 on the voluntary schools.

(5) Details in Table 10, p. 130.

MAINTENANCE EXPENDITURE BEFORE AND AFTER 1897.

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>1896</u>	<u>1897</u>	<u>1898</u>	<u>1899.</u>
Nat./C.of E.	£1 19s. 6d.	£2 0s. 5d.	£2 2s. 4d.	£2 4s. 11d.
Wesleyan.	£1 19s. 2d.	£2 0s. 0d.	£2 2s. 1d.	£2 5s. 4d.
R.C.	£1 17s. 9d.	£1 18s. 8d.	£2 0s. 0d.	£2 3s. 1d.
British Soc.	£2 1s. 11d.	£2 3s. 3d.	£2 5s. 7d.	£2 8s. 11d.
Board Schools.	£2 12s. 0d.	£2 13s. 2d.	£2 13s. 10d.	£2 15s 7d.
<u>SOURCE:</u> Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for the relevant years.				

EXPENDITURE IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS BEFORE AND AFTER 1897.

<u>YEAR.</u>	<u>SALARIES</u>	<u>% INCREASE</u>	<u>BOOKS AND APP.</u>	<u>% INCR.</u>	<u>ATTEND. INCR.</u>
1896	£302,063	9.9%	£28,981	4.8%	5.5%
1897	£317,439	15.5%	£30,947	11.9%	7.9%
1898	£339,184	23.02%	£34,469	24.6%	9.8%
1899	£366,983	33.6%	£50,148	81.0%	11.3%
% increases based on the figures for 1894.					
<u>SOURCE:</u> Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for the relevant years.					

EXPENDITURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS BEFORE AND AFTER 1897.

<u>YEAR.</u>	<u>SALARIES.</u>	<u>% INCREASE</u>	<u>BOOKS AND APP.</u>	<u>% INCR.</u>	<u>ATTEND. INCR.</u>
1896.	£3,945,402	18.2%	£308,205	18%	10%
1897.	£4,181,763	25.3%	£323,164	23.8%	13.4%
1898.	£4,367,292	30.9%	£314,011	20.3%	16.6%
1899.	£4,641,150	39.1%	£377,814	44.8%	20.3%
% increases based on the figures for 1894.					
<u>SOURCE:</u> Annual Reports of the Committee of Council for the relevant years.					

The figures show that between 1896 and 1899, expenditure per child in average attendance, increased by 3s.7d. in board schools and by 5s.4d. in Catholic schools. Nevertheless, by 1899, the expenditure per child in Catholic schools was still only 77% of the corresponding expenditure for a child in the board schools.

TABLE 9. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.
CATHOLIC VOLUNTARY SCHOOL ASSOCIATIONS SHOWING THE AVERAGE
ATTENDANCE AND THE AMOUNT OF GRANT PAID TO TOWN SCHOOLS AND COUNTRY
SCHOOLS IN THE FINANCIAL YEAR ENDING 31st. MARCH, 1902.

(SOURCE: P.R.O. File Ed.24/31/6c)

<u>ASSOCIATION</u>	<u>TOWN.</u>			<u>COUNTRY.</u>		
	<u>AV. ATTEND.</u>	<u>GRANT.</u>		<u>AV. ATTEND.</u>	<u>GRANT.</u>	
Birmingham	19,071	£4,996 0s. 3d.	2,295	£924 0s. 0d.		
Clifton & Newport.	11,500	£3,263 9s. 7d.	767	£205 0s. 0d.		
Hexham & Newcastle	26,966	£7,226 9s. 0d.	3,072	£1,115 17s. 10d.		
Leeds & Middlesborough.	25,984	£6,767 19 11d.	1,295	£997 0s 0d.		
Liverpool.	58,012	£15,733 13 3d.	3,051	£1,628 15s 0d.		
Nottingham & Northants.	8,972	£2,557 4s. 7d.	971	£210 0s. 0d.		
Salford.	39,702	£11,264 15s. 6d.	398	£340 0s. 0d.		
Shrewsbury & Menevia.	8,826	£2,418 5s. 1d.	492	£227 17s. 0d.		
Southwark.	14,060	£4,069 10s. 7d.	619	£118 14s. 0d.		
South-west.	4,315	£1,108 10s. 11d.	438	£217 11s. 3d.		
Westminster.	22,939	£6,624 18s. 11d.	223	£79 0s. 0d.		
<u>TOTALS.</u>	240,347	£66,030 17s. 7d.	13,621	£6,063 15s. 1d.		

The return shows that the Catholic Associations were based on the Dioceses. It also shows that about 95% of the Catholic elementary school population attended schools in towns. Financial problems would appear to be greatest in the country schools since 8.4% of the grant was allocated to these schools, although they accounted for only 5.3% of the average attendance.

DIAGRAM 8 CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897: PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN EXPENDITURE ON TEACHERS' SALARIES (S) BOOKS AND APPARATUS (B) COMPARED WITH THE PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN ATTENDANCE (A)

CATHOLIC SCHOOL FIGURES IN RED.

BOARD SCHOOL FIGURES IN BLACK

EXPENDITURE FOR 1894 TAKEN AS 100.

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL FOR THE RELEVANT YEARS.

**% INCREASE
ON FIGURES
FOR 1894**

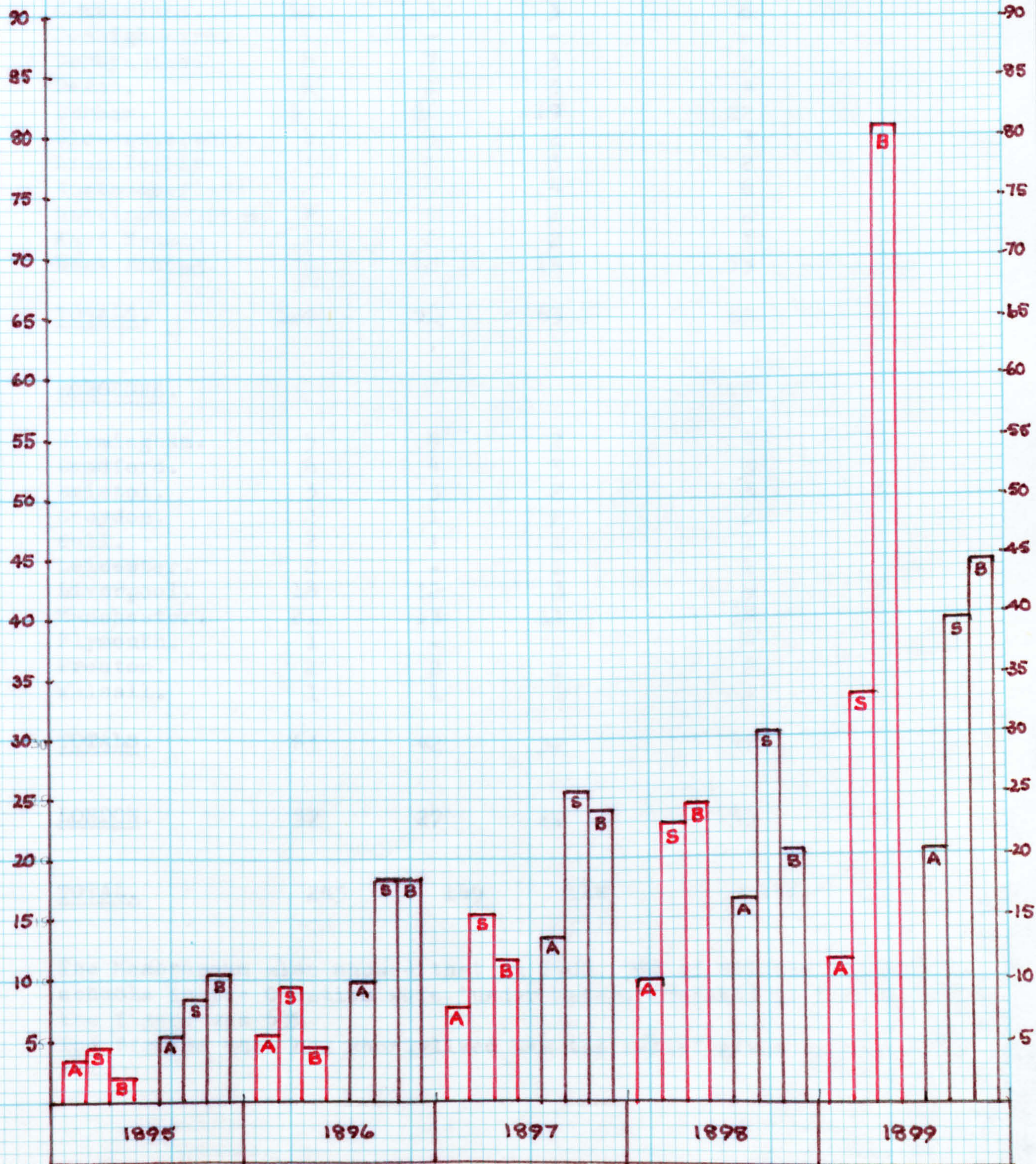


TABLE 10. FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, FEB. 1902.

SOURCE: R.L. Morant's Confidential Memorandum to the Board of Education, P.R.O. File Ed.24/13A/10a.

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN WHICH EXPENDITURE EXCEEDED INCOME.

(Details were available from 14 Counties, 11 Boroughs and London.)

<u>COUNTY.</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1899</u>	<u>1898</u>	Year preceding first payment of the aid grant.
Carmarthen	1	1	-	1
Chester.	13	10	7	10
Cornwall.	1	-	1	1
Cumberland.	10	3	3	8
Denbighshire.	1	-	-	-
Derbyshire.	8	7	3	5
Devon.	6	1	3	4
Durham.	34	26	19	22
Gloucestershire.	3	3	2	3
Lincolnshire.	4	1	3	2
Northumberland.	12	7	4	6
Nottinghamshire.	2	1	2	2
East Sussex.	4	2	2	1
West Riding.	26	18	14	19
<u>TOTALS.</u>	125	80	63	84
<u>BOROUGHES.</u>				
Birmingham.	5	5	2	4
Bradford.	6	4	3	5
Bristol.	3	3	2	3
Croydon.	2	1	2	2
Hull.	2	1	1	1
Leicester.	2	-	1	2
Liverpool.	18	12	8	9
Manchester.	21	13	11	18
Plymouth.	1	-	-	-
Preston.	2	2	1	2
Walsall.	1	1	1	1
<u>TOTALS.</u>	63	42	32	47
<u>LONDON.</u>	57	27	22	35
<u>TOTAL.</u>	245	149	117	166

The Memorandum also showed that in 1900, 56% of all the voluntary schools in the Counties were 'under water.' (Morant) In the Boroughs, the figure was 63%

The figures show how short-lived was the relief given by the 1897 Act.

the new grant.(1) But the Catholic Voluntary School Associations(2) were organised on a diocesan basis and the payments would be made to the diocesan authorities. This caused the officials of the Education Department some anxiety. They were particularly concerned about the practice in Catholic schools of paying a rent for the school to the Bishop. The Department had compiled a list of Catholic schools in which the amount of money paid to the Bishop as rent exceeded the amount of money contributed voluntarily or derived in endowments and fees.(3) Apparently the Department had realised that there was little that could be done in the matter since the diocesan authority and the Voluntary Schools Association were essentially the same body. Eventually, a ruling by the Vice President of the Committee of Council stated that no charge for rent in a voluntary school was admissible unless it was covered by income other than Government Grant.(4)

The Secretary of the Education Department had addressed a memorandum to the Cabinet on the problem.(5) In it, he stated

'The Roman Catholics have, for some time past, been avowing and pursuing the policy of defraying the whole of the cost of their schools out of public money. They pay out of the school funds, which consist mainly or entirely of Grant and Fees, charges for rent, and interest on the money spent in erecting the schools... They enter these charges in the school account submitted to us....

Concurrently with the increased charges for rent, there appears in the accounts of the Roman Catholic voluntary schools, a tendency to the piling up of large overdrawn balances, which probably means that the owner of the school buildings, usually the Bishop for this purpose, takes as much cash as is available in the form of rent and leaves the rest as a debt owed by the school to him...It is thought by the examiners that the debts are thus being piled up by the Roman Catholics in the hope of them being ultimately discharged from public funds..

The Secretary, Sir George Kekewich, apparently had little hope of being able to do anything about the matter:

'They are supported by the Roman Catholic Associations formed under the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897, and, as

(1) The main intention was that the 5s. grant would improve the standards of teaching and the provision of apparatus and equipment in the schools. (P.D. 2nd. April, 1897, c.366) But some minor repairs and improvements were allowed. Between 1899 and 1901, Catholic schools had an expenditure of £22,000 sanctioned. (P.R.O. File Ed.24/16, Doc. 105, November, 1901.)

(2) See Table 9, p.128.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.24/23/249E, 24th. March, 1899 See Table 11, p.136.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed.24/18/135, 27th. November, 1902

(5) P.R.O. File Ed.24/23/249E, 24th. March, 1899.

'the charges are now pretty general among the Roman Catholic schools, especially in the North of England, and the Governing Bodies do not object to it, it is no longer possible to dispose of the matter by referring suspicious cases to the Governing Body of the Voluntary Schools Association, a step which is usually efficacious in dealing with Church of England schools...'

Sir George quoted as an example the case of the Catholic school at Scotswood-on-Tyne, St. George's. The school paid an annual rent of £225 to the Bishop and had an overdrawn balance of £649. 'The Board have asked for an explanation, and have received a defiant reply from the Correspondent of the school.' He went on:

'The total amount charged in rent in the accounts of the voluntary schools is £112,000 per annum...of which, £44,000 or 3s.6d. per child in average attendance, is charged by Roman Catholic schools....'

In the early days of the administration of the Aid-Grant, we used to challenge the Managers where we noticed increased charges of rent, and to enquire whether the parties to whom the rent was paid had the power to make the payment a condition of the retention of the premises by the Managers...The Roman Catholics did not shrink from saying that their landlords, usually the Bishops, were determined to evict them...'

Sir George's advice to the Cabinet was that 'We should either enter deliberately into a pitched battle upon the subject, or leave the matter alone as much as possible.'(1)

Kekewich was also involved in another controversy with the Catholic schools over the 1897 Act. Voluntary contributions to the schools had fallen dramatically since the passing of the Act.(2) But so far as the Catholic schools were concerned, the efforts which had been made over the years to try to match the board schools had called for expenditure which could not possibly be kept up. So it was that when the 1897 Act made the extra money available to the schools, the voluntary contributions fell sharply. This did not go unnoticed at the Education Department .

(1) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/18/135. Memorandum on the Finances of the Voluntary Schools, undated; File Ed.24/23/249E, 24th. March, 1899. Some details of 249/E are given in Table 11, p.136.

(2) Voluntary Contributions had declined from £98,664 in 1897 to £77,076 in 1899, according to the Annual Reports of the Committee of Council.

Kekewich wrote a strongly-worded letter to the secretary of the Catholic School Committee(1) Mr. Honeybun.

'As your Committee is aware, the object of the aid-grant is to enable voluntary schools to maintain and increase their efficiency by supplementing the existing sources of income and not to enable supporters of the voluntary schools to reduce or discontinue their contributions...

My Lords are aware that there are peculiar circumstances in the case of the Roman Catholic schools, but they feel that they would not be justified by these circumstances in treating the schools of a particular denomination in an exceptional manner...

A general explanation of the decline in the voluntary subscriptions has been that it has hitherto been necessary to meet the deficit in the working expenses of the schools from funds which were primarily intended for other purposes connected with the mission, and that it was impossible to continue these subscriptions....

The Department are bound to safeguard the aid-grant from being indirectly applied to other than educational purposesMy Lords hope that they may rely on the co-operation of your Committee to check the decline in voluntary subscriptions which has manifested itself since the passing of the Voluntary Schools Act.'(2)

In his reply(3) the Secretary of the School Committee strongly defended the record of the Catholic community in supporting their schools. He referred to the practice of the Catholic priests of charging a rent for the school premises and then giving that amount to the school as a voluntary contribution in order to overcome the 17s.6d. limit on grant earnings. With the abolition of the 17s.6d. limit, there was 'a consequent diminution in the total entries of voluntary contributions.' The Secretary also stressed the special difficulties with which the voluntary schools had to contend in the years before the passing of the Voluntary Schools Act in 1897. He believed

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- (1) 'Poor' had been dropped from the Committee's title in 1896. Thomas Allies had retired from his post as Secretary in 1890.
 - (2) Letter from Sir George Kekewich to the Catholic School Committee, 18th. June, 1899. (Catholic School Committee Annual Report for 1899.)
 - (3) Honeybun to Kekewich, undated. (Catholic School Committee Annual Report for 1899.)

that the Catholic community could hardly be expected to maintain their subscriptions at the level reached during those years. He suggested that the years before 1893 were the years during which the voluntary subscriptions should be considered.⁽¹⁾ The letter went on:

'Such a decrease was contemplated and indeed, intended, by the framers of the 1897 Act...For instance, on 1st. February, 1897, the First Lord of the Treasury referred to 'the unfortunate clergyman or priest in some very poor district of a manufacturing town, who is hardly able to scrape together the pence to keep going his voluntary school which he considers necessary for the proper education of his flock. At the same time, you compel him to pay a rate to a school board....'

The Secretary also quoted from Mr. Balfour's speech of 18th. March, in which he had referred to 'the poor clergyman who pays, out of his scanty emoluments, an amount altogether disproportionate to anything which could properly be demanded of him in support of the voluntary school.' Mr. Balfour had added:

'It perhaps more concerns Roman Catholics than it does Anglican or Nonconformist sects, but there are districts in our own big towns in which the burden of the voluntary school falls on the pennies of the very poor...I think some relief of voluntary subscriptions may not illegitimately be demanded from the subvention of the State.'

The Secretary also reminded Kekewich of the statement made by the Duke of Devonshire in the House of Lords on 30th. March, 1897:

'It may be our duty to administer the Grant-in-aid rather for the relief of the subscribers and parents rather than for forcing up the standards of education in that locality to what we may reasonably expect in more prosperous communities.'

In view of the statements from members of the Government which the Secretary had quoted, he asked Kekewich to consider three points:

1. What was the point in abolishing the 17s.6d limit on Grant earnings if the principle was to stay in force?
2. Money spent on school maintenance might increase the resources of the local community, but there were times when through bad trade, strikes and epidemics, such

(1) Voluntary subscriptions to the Catholic schools had risen from £51,565 in 1883 to £88,031 in 1893. (From the Board of Education Annual Report, 1900, p. 483.) See also Diagram 2, p. 18. Voluntary subscriptions still brought in almost 7s. per child, although the number of children in the schools increased from 160,910 in 1883 to 201,304 in 1893.

resources may be, and often are, seriously diminished.

3. It would be more accurate to refer to the funds of the missionary rather than to 'the funds of the mission' being applied to school business. Although the money the missionary receives is his in the same way that the income received by an incumbent from his benefice is his, the missionary is compelled to pay out a sum altogether out of proportion to his total means in order that his school may continue to flourish. The strain may not be on the community, but it certainly is on one of its members.'

Thus, it has become obvious that, by the end of the century, the situation of the voluntary schools, and more particularly, of the Catholic schools had become more precarious than ever. As Cardinal Vaughan had said, 'doles and half-measures' were no solution.' So long as the school boards were able to call on the rates for ever-increasing amounts of money to fund their schools, the voluntary schools had no possible chance of keeping pace with them. But, so long as Lord Salisbury's Conservative Government was compelled to rely on the Liberal Unionists for a majority in the Commons, there was no possibility of introducing a comprehensive measure to put the voluntary schools on a firm financial footing with the board schools. However, two quite unexpected events in the last years of the century put the problem in quite a new perspective. The first of these was the strange 'Cockerton Case'(1) which put a sharp check on the spending of the school boards. The second was the result of the 'khaki election' of 1900, which gave the Conservatives a working majority in the Commons.(2)

(1) There is a short account of the case on pp. 139 - 141.

(2) The 'khaki election' so called because of the South African War which was on at the time, gave the Conservatives 340 seats in the Commons, the Liberals 177, the Liberal Unionists 71 and the Irish Nationalists 82.

TABLE 11. VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS AND RENTS PAID, 1897 and 1901.

SOURCE: P.R.O. File Ed.24/23/249d.

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.</u>			<u>RENT PAID.</u>		
	<u>1897</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>INCREASE</u>	<u>1897</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>DECREASE</u>
Nat./C.E.	£619,036	£672,360	£53,324	£43,465	£31,554	£11,911
R.C.	£88,008	£84,155	-£ 3,853	£39,581	£42,552	+£2,971.
Brit.Soc.	£51,991	£56,942	£ 4,951	£14,869	£14,342	£ 527
Wesleyan.	£18,521	£22,528	£ 4,007	£ 9,385	£ 9,431	+£ 46
Jewish.	£ 8,992	£10,696	£ 1,704	£ 394	£ 410	+£ 16
Others.	£15,067	£14,774	-£ 293	£ 1,111	£ 895	£ 216
<u>TOTALS.</u>	<u>£801,615</u>	<u>£859,455</u>	<u>£59,840</u>	<u>£108,805</u>	<u>£99,184</u>	<u>£9,621 **</u>

** The fall in rent is due chiefly to the exclusion from the statistics of the rent of teachers' houses, which had not previously been distinguishable.

DETAILS OF THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS IN WHICH THE RENT CHARGED EXCEEDS:

A - THE AMOUNT RECEIVED IN VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

B - THE AMOUNT RECEIVED IN VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS AND ENDOWMENTS.

C - THE AMOUNT RECEIVED IN VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS, ENDOWMENTS, AND SCHOOL FEES.

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>NO. OF SCHOOLS IN</u> <u>VOL. SCH. ASSOC'N.</u>	<u>A.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>C.</u>	<u>% IN C.</u>
Nat./C.E.	11,816	260	152	95	0.8%
R.C.	1,015	147	142	130	12.8%
Brit. Soc.	820	130	123	37	4.5%
Wesleyan.	467	105	104	16	3.4%
Jewish.	11	-	-	-	-
Unassociated.	267	13	7	3	1.1%
<u>TOTALS.</u>	<u>14,396</u>	<u>655</u>	<u>528</u>	<u>281</u>	<u>1.9%</u>

EXAMPLES OF THE 130 CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN WHICH THE RENT CHARGED FOR THE SCHOOL PREMISES EXCEEDED THE MONEY RECEIVED IN VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS, ENDOWMENTS AND FEES.

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>VOL. CON.</u>	<u>ENDOWMENTS.</u>	<u>FEES.</u>	<u>RENT</u>	<u>EXCESS</u>
Merthyr Tydfil.	-	-	-	£130	£130
West Hartlepool.	£37	-	-	£238	£201
Halifax.	£8	-	-	£300	£292
Liverpool.	-	-	-	£156	£156
Clayton-le-Moors.	£112	-	-	£248	£136

(The amounts have been rounded off to the nearest £. The actual names of the schools are given in the P.R.O. File, but have not been included here.)

NOTE ON TABLE 11 AND THE QUESTION OF RENT PAYMENTS TO THE
CATHOLIC BISHOPS.

It is possible to detect in Kekewich's letter to the Secretary of the Catholic School Society and the Memorandum on the subject of the rents paid by Catholic schools to the Bishops that sense of hostility which he seems to have displayed towards voluntary schools generally.

The suggestion in the Memorandum appears to be that the Catholic Bishops were taking money from the Catholic schools when this money could have been used to improve the educational standards in the schools. But the explanation for the payment of such 'rents' is quite simple. Virtually all the parish elementary schools were built with loans from the banks. The parish priest, whilst responsible to the Bishop for raising the money to fund such loans, would not be given the loan by the bank. This would be given to the Diocese, with the Bishop, and 'his successors in that Office for the time being' being responsible to the bank for the repayment. It was to help the Bishop to make the repayments that the so-called rents were paid to him.

This financial responsibility of the Catholic Bishops for diocesan debts was a very real one. In 1853, the Catholic Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Ullathorne, was sent to prison for debt. The debt was in the form of a call on some shares in a banking company which had been left to a parish in the Birmingham Diocese to help support the priest. The Bishop of Birmingham 'for the time being' was named as the trustee for the shares. When the banking company failed, the demand for a payment on each share was made to the Bishop, although he had never received any benefit from the shares. He could not find any money to meet the demand, and, as trustee, he was arrested and kept in Warwick gaol for several weeks until the sale of his books and vestments had been carried out. The money thus raised, although far short of the sum required to meet the debt, was accepted in payment, and the Bishop was released.(1)

(1) Arundel Castle Archives, Catalogue No. 2080. Letter from Bishop Ullathorne to his Diocesan Clergy, 27th. April, 1853.

The Anglican Vicar of St. Andrew's Church, Grimsby, had written to Kekewich to explain why the sum of £160 per annum was being paid to him as 'rent' for the parish school. To build the school, he had accepted responsibility for a debt of £4,000 which had been borrowed for that purpose. The payment of £160 per annum was to pay part of the interest on the debt.(1)

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24/23/256. Meddings to Kekewich, undated.

THE COCKERTON CASE AND THE RESULTING LEGISLATION.

'The Cockerton case has cut the knot which, under other circumstances, might have required prolonged unravelling.....it has made an immediate solution of some kind absolutely necessary.' This was the effect of the Cockerton case on the education system of the country, according to the Duke of Devonshire, the Lord President of the Council.(1) The case had its origins in the establishing of the 'Technical Education Boards' by the county councils after the passing of the Act of 1889. The London County Council had a very efficient Technical Education Board, the secretary of which was Dr. William Garnett. Thus, by 1897, there were two bodies in the London County Council area dealing with what was nominally elementary education.(2) In 1898, both of these bodies, i.e. the School Board and the Technical Education Board, applied to the Science and Art Department for recognition as the body responsible for giving instruction in subjects under the aegis of the Department. After a public hearing on 1st. February, 1899, the Technical Education Board was chosen as being the more suitable of the two.

Sir John Gorst had attended the public hearing and was astounded to hear the School Board's account of the work it was already carrying out. It seemed to him to be far beyond the scope of what could be reasonably described as elementary education. According to Eaglesham's account,(3) Gorst asked Dr. Garnett if there was any way in which the activities of the School Board could be restricted. Garnett's suggestion was that a legal ruling on the matter could be obtained by challenging the expenditure of the School Board when the annual audit took place. He named the Camden School of Art, a private art school paying rates, as willing to challenge such expenditure, as the Camden School was losing revenue because of the free classes in art being held

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. May, 1901.

(2) Technical education or 'instruction' was considered to be quite different from secondary education. It will be remembered that Hart Dyke's Bill envisaged instruction given in elementary schools, although instruction in secondary schools was not expressly ruled out. However, there would be legal obstacles to the use of the rates to fund education given in secondary schools.

(3) Eaglesham, E.: 'From School Board to Local Authority', London. 1956. pp. 111 - 114.

at the School Board's Pupil-Teacher Centre in the same district. Gorst wrote to the Chairman of the Technical Education Board, who in turn, wrote to the Art School.

Allen, Sir Robert Morant's biographer, has a slightly different version of the events leading up to the case. According to this version, as early as December, 1898 (i.e. before the Science and Art Department had decided in favour of the Technical Education Board) Morant had called the attention of 'an agent of Dr. Garnett' to a passage in his 'Report on Swiss Education.'⁽¹⁾ The passage suggested that it was illegal for school boards to spend the school rate on higher grade education, and they had 'frequently' been reminded of this by the Central Authority.⁽²⁾ Garnett was able to attend the hearing on 1st. February, 1899, armed with the facts and figures supplied by Morant, and his application was successful.⁽³⁾

Whichever version is correct, events moved very quickly after the hearing on 1st. February, 1899. At its weekly meeting, on Thursday, 9th. February, 1899, the London School Board heard of the letter which had been received from the Science and Art Department asking the School Board to explain why the school rate was being used to fund the free art classes at the Pupil-Teacher Centre in Balls Pond Road at Tottenham, about which the Art School was complaining. The School Board approved a reply to the Science and Art Department which, in short, told the Department to mind its own business. On 20th. February, 1899, Lord Hugh Cecil asked the President of the Local Government Board in Parliament to give greater publicity to the dates on which the audit of the accounts of the London School Board would be held, for the use of those who wished to object before the Auditor. ⁽⁴⁾

The Auditor, Mr. Thomas Cockerton, held the audit on

(1) 'Special Reports on Educational Subjects' Vol.III, HMSO. 1898.

(2) At the time the Report was written (1898) two school boards, Brighton and Southampton, had been surcharged, the amount of money involved being about £50. The Barrow in Furness Board (1884) and the Hanley Board (1892) had plans for Higher Grade schools rejected by the Education Department.

(3) Grier 'Achievement in Education: The Life of Sir Michael Sadler' London, 1952, p.73, would confirm this. There is no solid evidence for Grier's suggestion that 'Garnett induced Cockerton to disallow payments for higher-grade schools.' At the audit, seven items of expenditure, totalling some £233 were disallowed. None referred to higher grade schools.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 20th. February, 1899.

17th. May, 1899. There were objections from the Camden Art School and from two voluntary schools, one at Deptford and one at Gospel Oak. The Auditor reserved his judgement and it was not until four months later, on 19th. September, 1899, that Mr. Cockerton announced that the London School Board had acted 'ultra vires' in some of its expenditure. Seven specific items, with a total value of about £233 were disallowed.

The School Board immediately announced that the matter would be tested in the High Court. 'Regina v. Cockerton' opened on 19th. November, 1900. After a hearing lasting four days, Mr. Justice Wills again reserved his judgement. On 20th. December, 1900 he gave his verdict in favour of the Auditor. He declared that the School Board's expenditure was 'the ne plus ultra' of extravagance. The case then went to the Appeal Court, but on 1st. April, 1901, that court too found for the Auditor. Only after a heated discussion at the meeting on Thursday, 25th. April, 1901, did the School Board decide, by 24 votes to eleven, not to take the matter to the House of Lords.(1)

The judgement left a situation which could only be corrected by the passing of a law to make legal that which was illegal. Within a few days, on 8th. May, 1901, such a measure was introduced by Sir John Gorst.(2) In his speech introducing the Bill, Sir John said:

'The Board of Education(3) had nothing to do with the Cockerton case, with the judgement or with the appeal....The only thing we were concerned with was to place the information in our Archives at the disposal of all parties ...the Board remained neutral.'(4)

But the Bill, which had been drawn up by a Cabinet Committee(5) was very soon in difficulty in the House. The trouble was that the Bill cast doubt on the powers of the school boards. It had

(1) There is a 'blow by blow' account of the events in the Cockerton case in the Minutes of Meetings of the London School Board which are preserved in the Archives of the G.L.C. at County Hall, Westminster. The matter was first raised at the meeting on Thursday, 9th. February, 1899.

(2) The title was, 'The Education Act (1901) A Bill to make Provision for and to confer certain powers upon Local Education Authorities in England and Wales.'

(3) In 1899 the Board of Education had been set up to take over the functions of the Education Department, the Science and Art Department and the educational work of the Charity Commission.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 8th. May, 1901.

(5) P.R.O. File Ed.24/14 Doc. 14 lists the members of the Committee.

authorised the county councils' 'paramount education authorities' to empower school boards to carry on such work as might have been affected by the Cockerton judgement, but only to such an extent as the paramount education authority permitted. Thus, it seemed that the Bill made the school boards subservient to the county councils. An earlier ruling of the Law Lords on 24th. July, 1901, had decided that money received by the school boards from endowments and fees was to be used to relieve the school rate and could not be used to finance higher-grade education.

Eaglesham (1) suggests that the Bill had a much wider significance than that of providing a solution to a pressing legal problem. 'It was conceived on one hand as a pilot experiment and on the other as establishing a principle that the county and county borough councils were to be the real controlling authorities for elementary education.' A young Liberal Member, Mr. (later Sir) Winston Churchill, described the Bill as 'not a pitched battle, just a reconnoitering patrol.' (2) Rather than face lengthy debates and the possibility that the Bill would not become law before the Summer Recess, the Bill was withdrawn on 2nd. July, 1901 and, on the following day, Sir John Gorst introduced a Bill (3) under the Ten Minute Rule. This Bill simply gave school boards permission to carry on any work which had been in progress for at least twelve months before 31st. July, 1901, for a further twelve months without any fear of the legality of the expense involved being challenged in the courts. (4) The Bill was passed and Parliament adjourned with the Cockerton problem temporarily solved but with the long-term solution more essential and urgent than ever.

There has been much speculation as to how far the Cockerton case was an artificially set up attempt to curb the powers of the school boards. Sachs, (5) suggests that 'the complaint against the London School Board was initiated by a group of Anglicans headed by Lord Hugh Cecil,' but he gives no evidence for the statement's authenticity. Professor Brian Simon (6) suggests that some of the

(1) Eaglesham, E. 'From School Board to Local Authority' London, 1956. p.136.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 2nd. July, 1901.

(3) The official title was 'Education (No.2) Bill, 1901.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed.24/13B, 'Various Methods of Dealing with the Difficulty if the Cockerton Bill is Dropped,' lists four alternatives which could be introduced as Ten Minute Bills.

(5) Sachs, B. 'The Religious Issue in the Schools of England and Wales, 1902 - 1914.' London. 1961. p.10.

(6) Education and the Labour Movement. London, 1965. p.193

managers of the Camden School of Art were backed by a committee 'formed to combat the school boards and which included two members of the Cecil family.'(1)

Halevy(2) also refers to the existence of such a committee:

'The case had been brought at the instigation of a committee lately formed to combat the school boards. Its chairman was Lord Robert Cecil, the youngest son of Lord Salisbury, and one of the lights of the High Church Party. Among the more prominent members was another Cecil, Evelyn Cecil, who had been quite recently the leader of the moderate opposition on the London School Board.'

The four men most concerned in the raising of the Cockerton issue were certainly no friends of the school boards. They were Dr. William Garnett, Sir John Gorst, Robert Morant and the auditor, Thomas Cockerton. Garnett had already called Morant's attention to the fact that the London School Board had established what were virtually Jewish schools in the areas of London where the population was predominantly Jewish. Jewish teachers were appointed to such schools. Garnett commented, 'I have never heard of the London School Board making similar provision for Roman Catholic children.'(3) Garnett also called Morant's attention to the way in which the School Board's regulations on Bible teaching were being ignored in such schools. The religious syllabus had been drawn up by the Chief Rabbi, and all reference to the New Testament was omitted. The School Board had admitted that Garnett's facts were correct, but stressed that unless such concessions were made, the Jewish parents would not send their children to school. The School Board also agreed that no similar concessions had been made for the Roman Catholic children attending their schools. Garnett offered to bring the relevant documents to Morant's office if he wished to inspect them.(4)

Sir John Gorst's attitude towards the school boards was shown in his 1896 Bill, one clause of which proposed that the

(1) Simon, B.: Education and the Labour Movement, London, 1965. p.193.

(2) Halevy, E.: A History of the English People in the 19th. Century. 6 Vol. 1951 edition. London. Vol. 5. 'Imperialism and the Rise of Labour, 1895 - 1905.'p. 197.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.24/16/98. Garnett to Morant 22nd. October, 1901.

(4) Ibid. dated 24th. October, 1901. In 1871, the London School Board had expressly forbidden the use of the Douai Version of the Bible in its schools. 'The Protestant Version shall be used and explained by the teacher, even if the number of Roman Catholic children present exceeds forty.' (The Tablet, 18th. March, 1871.)

school boards should be subservient to the county councils. It was Robert Morant who first called Garnett's attention to the manner in which the London School Board was using the rate fund to provide education which was not 'elementary.' In the discussions on the drawing-up of the 1902 Bill, Morant advised the Cabinet against the plan to set up 'ad hoc' authorities to continue to be responsible for elementary education in certain areas.(1) Simon's comment that 'Gorst and Morant were clearly involved in instigating the case' would seem to be confirmed by the facts.(2)

The Local Government Auditor, Thomas Cockerton, was appointed in 1890, and his relationship with the London School Board was not a harmonious one.(3) In his Annual Report to the Local Government Board in 1898 he expressed the view that 'the London School Board are trying to supplant the voluntary schools, and thereby exercise a power which the Legislature has never conferred upon them.'(4) Eaglesham suggests that 'the harm which was done to education in these crucial years was almost entirely of political, not legal origin.....the Cockerton judgement provided a mere smokescreen.'(5)

Sir George Kekewich, Secretary to the Board of Education, was the odd man out in the case. A supporter of the school boards, he had travelled the country encouraging the establishment of the 'higher grade elementary schools' which the Cockerton Judgement declared to be illegal. Morant, his subordinate, apparently made no attempt to inform his chief of the possible illegality of what he was doing. Whether it was Morant's intention to allow Kekewich enough rope to hang himself, or whether it was that Morant still had lingering doubts over the illegality of the higher grade schools is not clear. But when Kekewich was dismissed in 1903, as being unsuitable to implement the provisions of the new Act, his place was taken by Morant. (6)

(1) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/14/12A, 'Points against 'Ad Hoc Authorities.'

(2) Simon, B.: Education and the Labour Movement, London. 1965. p.193.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.14/25 lists ten cases referred to the Department between June, 1891 and August, 1901, in which the Auditor had surcharged members of the School Board for unauthorised expenditure. The Department asked that four of the ten surcharges should be remitted.

(4) Eaglesham, E.: From School Board to Local Authority, London, 1956. p. 88.

(5) Ibid. p. 181.

(6) The Baptist Times, 13th. November, 1903, attributed the dismissal of Kekewich, and of the Board's senior architect dismissed with him as 'Anglican prejudice.' 'The Board is becoming an outpost of Anglicanism.'

CONCLUSION.

By 1888, the national education system was deadlocked. It had become obvious that there was no possibility of extending a school board system, originally intended to 'fill the gaps' in the voluntary schools' provision of schools, to cover the whole of the country. Equally, there was no possibility of the voluntary schools giving up their struggle. Thus, there existed a system in which the voluntary schools, through their financial difficulties, were acting as a brake on any widespread educational progress. The passing of the Free Schools Act (1891), supported by the Liberal Party, gave as much to the board schools as to the voluntary schools, and so did little to eliminate the difference in the expenditures of the two types of school. The Act brought real relief to the parents of the children attending the Catholic schools, but little relief to the hard-pressed school managers.

The reception given to Sir John Gorst's abortive Bill in 1896 reminded the Conservative Government, if they needed any reminding, that the school board supporters in the Commons were still a force to be reckoned with. Any future attempt to introduce legislation affecting denominational issues had little hope of success until the composition of the House was altered. Whichever way the Irish Members voted, the Liberal Unionists would have to be satisfied if the Conservatives were to remain in office.

The Voluntary Schools Act (1897) and its 5s. per head grant for each pupil in the voluntary schools could only be described as giving too little too late. Its immediate effect failed to make any significant difference in the finances of the voluntary schools and two years after it had been passed, the finances of the voluntary schools were as bad as ever. For the Catholic schools, the poorest of the denominational schools, the situation was becoming desperate.

As has been suggested, there is a great deal about the origins of the Cockerton case which may never be known. But its outcome, in curbing the financial power of the larger school boards, brought great and important relief to the managers of the voluntary schools. It created the situation which made sweeping changes in the national education system absolutely essential. The real tragedy was that in these years the voluntary schools

issue had become a pawn in a political game, with little concern being shown for the children attending the voluntary schools. The changes made necessary by the Cockerton case resulted in the end of the school boards. But, with the passing of the boards, the expenditure of some of them, which was considered to be very extravagant, set the financial standards from which the voluntary schools were to benefit after 1902.

SECTION 3.

THE 1902 EDUCATION ACT.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE 1902 EDUCATION ACT.

It is important to remember that at the time of the preparation of the Bill which passed into law as the Education Act, 52% of the nation's elementary school population were attending voluntary schools. Both Akenson (1) and Barnard(2) are in error in suggesting otherwise. In official circles, it was accepted that, for all practical purposes, the national education system could not function without the help of the voluntary schools.

There is no evidence of any widespread dissatisfaction with the work of the voluntary schools, if the number of children withdrawn from religious instruction in the voluntary schools is any criterion. Figures from thirty Anglican Dioceses, relating to 1,748,772 children attending Anglican schools in those Dioceses, show that 5,147 children were 'totally withdrawn' and 7,596 were 'partially withdrawn' i.e. under 1% of the children attending.(3) The presumption must be that the parents were reasonably satisfied with the education on offer.

With the settlement of the Cockerton case, there appeared to be a desire to reach some form of agreement to have the cost of secular education, whether given in board schools or voluntary schools, met from public funds.(4) The Convocation of Canterbury and York made a suggestion that, in order to allow for the cost of giving denominational instruction in the voluntary schools, the provision of the buildings and their upkeep should be at the expense of the denomination, the maintenance of the school at the expense of public funds, either local or national.(5)

There were those who urged caution before entering into such blanket undertakings. A letter in The Times examined the consequences of this type of arrangement. The writer showed that in the case of the S.P.C.K. suggestion that only the cost of secular education in voluntary schools should be funded by public money, a denominational school of 500 scholars in a town cost about £1,200

(1) Akenson, D.H. 'The Irish Education Experiment' London. 1970 p.10
'By 1900, the voluntary schools taught 46% of the elementary school population.'

(2) Barnard, H.C. 'A History of English Education from 1760'
London. 1961. p. 168.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.24/18/156d.

(4) Annual Meeting of the S.P.C.K. Report, The Times, 9th. November, 1901.

(5) Report of Convocation, The Times, 11th. July, 1901.

per annum to maintain. Assuming that between 1/8 and 1/11 of the school day was devoted to denominational instruction, the denomination might well have to find as much as £150 in voluntary contributions each year to meet the cost. So far as the proposal of the Convocation of Canterbury and York was concerned, it was pointed out that the accounts of the school boards showed that the capital charges for the provision of the school buildings amounted to some 33% of the total expense. The writer 'ventured to suggest' that all those who were considering signing the petition being circulated in favour of such proposals 'should first work out the responsibilities of the proposals before appending their signatures.'(1)

The Archbishop of York, writing to the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, and the Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Devonshire, in December, 1901, expressed his gratitude for the 1897 grant, but stressed that the state of the voluntary schools was now worse than it had been before the Act. The Archbishop hoped that the difficulties of the voluntary schools would not be overlooked 'in any forthcoming legislation.'(2) Even the twenty-five members of the London School Board, who made up 'the moderate party' on that School Board, wrote to the Duke of Devonshire telling him of 'the persistent hostility of the School Board to schools not under their management.' They expressed their hopes that 'the present opportunity of bringing the schools under one national system would not be lost.'(3)

For the Catholics, Cardinal Vaughan wrote to Morant to express his fears about the position of the Catholic schools if new legislation should put them under the control of the County Councils. 'To leave the voluntary schools without any voice on the education committees of the County Councils would suggest that the Government is bent on our destruction.' The Cardinal's suggestion was that since the Associations of Voluntary Schools had been set up under the 1897 Act, such Associations should be allowed to nominate representatives to sit on the education committees.(4)

(1) The Times, 30th. November, 1901.

(2) Ibid. 20th. December, 1901.

(3) Ibid. 20th. December, 1901.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/16/96. Vaughan to Morant, 21st. October, 1901. In London, in 1900, 226,000 children attended voluntary schools, 752,000 attended London School Board schools. (Source: 'Primary Education in the 19th. Century.' Lecture by Sir J. Fitch, to the Education Section of the Cambridge University Extension Summer Meeting, August, 1900. Report of Meeting, p. 41)

Two weeks later, the Cardinal again wrote to Morant. He sent him a copy of the Catholic Hierarchy's resolutions on any future Education Bill.(1) In his letter, he explained that the resolutions would be published later in the month but the copy enclosed was for the information of the Cabinet.(2) The resolutions assumed that 'the payment of public money, whether derived from rates or taxes, will be made equitable to all schools fulfilling the educational conditions, irrespective of creed.' They went on to deal with the question of representation on the education committees of the County Councils of 'those great educational interests which have grown up with the Education Department.' Such representation would provide 'a ready source of information on the needs and circumstances of the denominational schools,' and would 'remove friction from the outset.' The Hierarchy expressed a willingness to have one third of the managerial bodies of the schools nominated by the Council providing the funds, but the right to appoint and dismiss teachers would rest with the trustee managers. A final point was that if a County Council offered scholarships to children attending elementary schools, such scholarships would be tenable in any secondary school in the area which was recognised as efficient. The Cardinal ended with an undertaking that if these points were conceded, the Bishops 'would exercise all their influence both in and out of Parliament, in support of the Bill. But, if the points were not conceded, 'it would appear advisable to withdraw all support from a measure which may be used to bring about the destruction of the work of religious education that has grown up, in conjunction with the State, in the last sixty years.'

Another discussion on the shape of a future education bill took place between Morant and the champion of the rights of the school boards, Joseph Chamberlain. (3) Morant seems to have treated Chamberlain with less respect than his position as a senior statesman deserved. For example, a pencilled note on the cover of the File states that the notes were hastily 'jotted down and must not be taken as strictly or verbally accurate...only a record of a general impression...In agreeing or otherwise, Mr. Morant was doing so only for argument's sake...and not assuming that the Cabinet were prepared to say the same.'

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24/17/108

(2) P.R.O. File Ed.24/17/112, dated 3rd. November, 1901.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.24/17/125, dated 12th. December, 1901. 'Notes of a Conversation between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Morant on the Education Bill. Mr. Chamberlain's own position and solutions based on misconceptions of differences between 1870 and 1900.' Judd ('Radical Joe' London, 1977, p.236,) is probably in error in placing the conversation at Chamberlain's home in 1902.

When Chamberlain insisted that rate aid to the voluntary schools 'would mean rate war in every town ...as in 1870' Morant reminded him that 'then it seemed easy to kill the voluntary schools...now it is seen to be impossible...after thirty years struggle, the spur to the fight is lacking.' Morant claimed that it was no longer a case of stopping the hated voluntary schools, but a case of retarding education. To Chamberlain's boast that he could find a rate martyr in every town and so smash you' Morant replied that such action would not stop the Bill from going through Parliament, and once it had become law, the law would crush the martyrs.

Chamberlain then put forward a tentative suggestion that if the voluntary schools handed over their schools to the Local Authorities in return for the right to give their denominational instruction in the schools every day, the matter would be settled. When Chamberlain explained that the denominational managers would have no voice in the selection of teachers, Morant replied that he did not think that there was a single voluntary school in the land which would accept such an arrangement. Chamberlain disagreed, as the managers 'only care about the religious instruction hour.' To this, Morant replied that the managers 'must have a religious man to do all the secular teaching.' Chamberlain asked, 'But is that not true only of the Romans?' He was told that the Anglicans have 'learned it from the Romans and will fight for it.' Chamberlain then said the only solution was to give the voluntary schools an amount of money equal to the school rate from the Government funds. But Morant reminded him that the South African War, which Chamberlain had vigorously supported, had used up money to an alarming extent. There would certainly be no extra money for voluntary school grants. But they were trying to build a bridge in the new Bill, a shaky bridge, but 'the least unsafe bridge that can be built.' Chamberlain retorted that he would not try to cross any bridge unless the County Councils were given the right to impose three conditions on the voluntary schools, viz. the joining of the scheme was optional for the Council, voluntary contributions must not be ridiculously small, and the voluntary schools would not be allowed to foist any bad buildings on the ratepayers. Morant agreed to look into the three conditions, but Chamberlain said he could not promise that his followers would vote for them. His final comment was, 'It is difficult, anyhow.' Morant's final note on the handwritten copy is, 'Exit left. In doubt. Curtain.'

THE PREPARATION OF THE 1902 EDUCATION BILL.

Although his official account of the preparation of the Bill(1) states that 'Sir John Gorst prepared the draft which was sent with a Memo. to Mr. Balfour, the Duke of Devonshire and Sir Courtenay Ilbert(2) on 19th. August, 1901, Morant's biographer(3) adds some other details. Allen says that Morant asked Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Rochester, and a friend of Morant's from his Oxford days, to arrange a private meeting with Balfour. The Bishop invited Balfour and Morant to lunch at his home. At the lunch, Morant asked Balfour if he would be interested in hearing his views on the re-organisation of the national education system. Although Balfour professed such an interest, he appeared to be little impressed by Morant's ideas. However, on the last day of the Session, in August, 1901, Morant received a letter from Balfour asking him to prepare a draft of an education bill to be introduced during the next Session. Morant prepared the draft and passed it to his chief, Sir John Gorst, who passed it to Balfour.(4) According to Allen's account, the draft followed the lines of the original Cockerton Bill(5) which had been withdrawn on 2nd. July, 1901. The Bill proposed that in each county council, there should be a 'paramount education authority,' which would be able to decide if it wanted to be responsible for all education in the county, or if it wanted to delegate responsibility for elementary education to a school board. Either way, the power of the school boards would be severely curtailed. The Bill also re-introduced the idea, first drafted in the Gorst Bill of 1896, which would allow the denominations to enter the board schools to give denominational instruction if a sufficient number of parents asked for it. Later in August, after a meeting between the Duke of Devonshire and Sir George Kekewich, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, the Government's legal adviser, was instructed to draw up the Bill on the lines of the draft. The completed Bill was then sent to the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Balfour on 30th. August, 1901. Morant's account mentions a meeting with Cardinal Vaughan who was very interested in the proposed Bill.(6)

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24/14/14. 'Successive Stages in the Preparation of the 1902 Education Bill.'

(2) The Cabinet Committee which had considered the legislation after the Cockerton Judgement was announced.

(3) Allen, B. 'Sir Robert Morant' London. 1934. pp. 155 - 156.

(4) This corresponds with the account given in Morant's official document.

(5) See p. 142 *supra*.

(6) P.R.O. File Ed.24/14/14, in Note (1) above.

According to Allen's account. Lord Salisbury was not happy about the proposal to abolish the school boards. He asked Balfour to have three drafts prepared. The first of these would deal with secondary education only, and leave elementary education in the hands of the school boards. The second would be a comprehensive Bill dealing with both secondary and elementary education. The third would deal with secondary education but on the assumption that the Cowper-Temple Clause would not apply in the secondary schools. Kekewich was strongly in favour of restricting any new legislation to secondary schools only. Morant believed that this was because 'He is hoping that ere long some turn of the parliamentary wheel of fortune might bring to the top some authoritative vote more favourable to his friends.'(1)

In December, 1901, Morant received further instructions from Balfour, the document being marked 'Confidential.'(2) It lists nine points for consideration and these suggest that Balfour had already decided that the school boards would have to go. His first point was to 'work the matter as one Bill, but bear in mind that it may have to be separated into a Bill for secondary and a Bill for elementary.' The third point was clear enough: 'Repeal Cowper-Temple. Insert the principle of Clause 27 of the 1896 Bill.' (This was the Clause which gave the denominations the right to enter the board schools if a sufficient number of parents wished their children to have denominational instruction.) The fourth point suggests that the representations made by the Catholic Bishops were being taken seriously: 'Contrive a better formula for giving representation of Catholics on the education committees of Local Authorities.'(3)

There is no evidence that Morant ever had time to draw up and submit a Bill on the lines suggested by Balfour. In January, 1902, he received a second letter from Balfour.(4) 'For better or worse' the Cabinet had decided that the county boroughs would manage both their elementary and secondary education. Certain non-county boroughs would retain their existing powers to provide

(1) Morant, B. op. cit. p.158.

(2) P.R.O. File Ed.24/17/130A. 'Mr. Balfour's Instructions to me as to the Lines of the Education Bill,' dated 20th. Dec. 1901.

(3) The Hierarchy's Resolutions were sent to the Cabinet on 3rd. November, 1901. See p. 149.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/17/130B. dated 4th. January, 1902.

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elementary education as well as having responsibility for the provision of secondary education. But, basically, county councils would be responsible for elementary education, outside the boroughs which had school boards. These would be allowed to continue. Voluntary schools would have to make the best arrangements they could with the county councils. 'They will have the right to make such terms as the two parties can agree upon....If they fail to come to any agreement, or if the agreement is defective, the voluntary schools will perish and the county council will take over the whole cost and the whole responsibility.' Balfour was still in favour of dropping the Cowper-Temple Clause in favour of the 1896 proposals but he added, 'Possibly, this last reform may have to be abandoned.' So far as the provision of new voluntary schools was concerned, 'no very clear decision has been come to,' but it seemed that this matter, too, would be left to the county council to settle. Presumably, if a county council was not willing to make a grant from the rates towards the maintenance of a voluntary school, it would not be willing to allow additional voluntary schools to be provided, even if the denominations were willing to provide them. Finally, Balfour expressed his hope that 'Mr. Thring(1) will devote his mind to finding some formula to satisfy the Anglicans and the Romans that they are to be represented on the education committees.'(2)

Balfour's proposals reveal the doubts which existed in the minds of the Cabinet as to their ability to get such a controversial Bill through the Commons. The power which was being given to individual county councils to settle with the voluntary schools in their areas was certain to create impossible situations.(3) Similarly, there were likely to be difficulties in areas in which school boards were to be allowed to continue, and to levy a rate in addition to the county rate, to finance elementary education. An editorial in The Times, soon after the Bill was published, seemed to reflect a great deal of the thinking in Conservative circles: 'If the Government do not mean to carry the Bill, they had better not have introduced it.'(4)

(1) The Parliamentary 'draftsman' with responsibility for putting the politicians' ideas into the form of a workable Bill.

(2) P.R.O. File Ed.24/17/130A, dated 20th. December, 1901. 'Mr. Balfour's Instructions to me as to the lines of the Education Bill'

(3) As, for example, in the areas of the county councils which refused to implement the 1902 Act until the Default Act of 1904 was passed. The attitude of the West Riding County Council is discussed in some detail since one of the schools involved was a Catholic school. (See pp.182 - 185)

(4) The Times, 25th. March, 1902. p.7.

Morant did not hesitate to point out to the Cabinet that there were serious faults in their proposals. He suggested that to allow some boroughs to retain 'ad hoc' authorities with power to levy rates for elementary education would be a mistake(1). Town councillors would regard them as 'greedy swallowers of funds.... increasing needlessly the unpopularity of educational expenditure.' Apart entirely from the extra expense involved, it would be an error to get together 'a lot of people whose hobby is education, and letting such people have the run of the public purse.' 'Extravagances of all kinds, out of all proportion to the rateable capacity of the town become the normal course of policy...All this is avoidable, without any real educational need suffering.'

Morant also pointed out the serious anomalies which could occur if county councils were allowed to take over the board schools and the voluntary schools were allowed to go on as before.(2) He showed that in a county like Lancashire, 'of 15 county boroughs, four would have no elementary schools as they have no school boards. (Bury, Preston, St. Helens, Warrington.) The other 11 county boroughs would have 193 elementary schools between them and 400 voluntary schools 'outside their sway.' 'The city of Manchester cannot touch its 93 voluntary schools and can only improve its 55 board schools....Liverpool has 42 board schools and 113 voluntary schools.' 'Blackburn has four board schools to handle and 44 voluntary schools to leave alone...' Of the 19 non-county boroughs, 11 have no board schools, the other eight have 31 between them...Their 96 voluntary schools will be outside their ken... In the county council area of 85 urban districts and 19 rural districts, there will be 45 board schools for the county council to look after and 752 voluntary schools to leave alone...' Morant ended his Memorandum with the question, 'Will the Lancashire County Council think it is worth while taking up elementary education at all?'

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24/14/12a. 'Points against 'ad hoc' authorities.' The document is undated.

(2) P.R.O. Ed.24/17/126, dated 13th. December, 1901. The date is significant in that is before Balfour sent his proposals to Morant on 4th. January, 1902. It seems unlikely that Morant was ignorant of what Balfour's instructions to him would contain.

Balfour introduced the Bill on 24th. March, 1902, and it received the Royal Assent on 20th. December, 1902. It occupied 57 days of Parliament's time. Any attempt to summarise the course of the debate would be outside the scope of this thesis, but, from the Catholic point of view, two aspects of the debate are of interest. They are:

1. The willingness of both of the major Parties to recognise the special nature of the Catholic schools when compared with the other denominational schools.
2. The behaviour of the Irish Nationalist Members during the debate, especially in their attitude towards the issue of the single-school areas and in their attempts to split the Anglicans and the Catholics on the schools issue.

On the day the bill was introduced, it was clear that the school boards were doomed. Balfour made the extraordinary statement that the school boards were never intended to be permanent institutions. 'The last hope of the school boards to be recognised as the ad hoc authority for education was swept away when this House passed the Act of 1889.' (1) Although there had been some controversy as to the school boards' suitability to be recognised as the authority for secondary education, there was nothing in any of the legislation passed between 1870 and 1902 to suggest that they were merely stop-gaps. But certainly the Catholic community as a whole were pleased to see them go, as it was widely believed that the school boards set too high a standard of expenditure, and the Catholic schools were quite unable to match it.

Balfour made much of the principle that if parents wanted denominational or undenominational education for their children, they were entitled to it, if that were at all possible. Mr. Bryce challenged this:

'I admit that the Roman Catholics desire denominational education and that their position is exceptional....I do not believe that the percentage of Church of England parents, or the parents of any other Protestant denomination who desire denominational education is a percentage practically worth regarding...The percentage is so small, it is not worth making these elaborate provisions for their case...'(2)

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 24th. March, 1902. c.815.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 24th. March, 1902. c.940.

Later in the Debate on the Second Reading, John Dillon, the Irish Nationalist, defended the right of the denominational schools to teach dogma, although that was the point on which the Nonconformists based their objections. A child of Nonconformist parents might be compelled by law to attend a denominational school, although the parents objected to the dogma taught. Dillon said:

'Not one of the charges made against the denominational schools affects the position of the Catholic schools...ours is an urban, not a rural question. In the case of the Catholic schools, with possibly ten or twelve exceptions(1), there is no question of the compulsion of non-Catholic children to attend our schools....We have been told that if some arrangement could be made by which our schools could be left entirely outside the religious controversy, everyone would be inclined to treat them generously...Is it not a melancholy thing that, because the Protestants of this country cannot arrange their differences, we should be dragged into this storm and made to suffer..?'(2)

The passage is interesting in that it shows Dillon's desire to destroy the unity of the voluntary schools by suggesting that it was the link with the Anglican schools which prevented the Catholic schools from receiving their just treatment. It will be remembered that similar suggestions were made by leading Liberals after the publication of the Report of the Cross Commission.(3) On the same day as Dillon made his speech, the Liberal Member, Mr. Macnamara,(4) followed the same line. In an attack on the denominational training colleges, he spoke scathingly of the Oxford Diocese's contribution of £117 to their Diocesan Training College, in return for which sum, they reserved the college entirely for Anglican students.

'To the eternal credit of the Roman Catholic Colleges, they subscribe to them handsomely from private sources...In the case of the Catholic college at Hammersmith, the income from private sources was not £117, but no less than £1,500...30% of the funds of that college came from private sources....'

(1) Dillon must have known that this number was incorrect. One of his fellow-Nationalists, Mr. Tully quoted the number of such schools as 30. (P.D. 26th. November, 1902.) The Tablet gave the number as 35 (2nd. August, 1902. p.161.)

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. May, 1902. cc. 1005 - 1006.

(3) See pp. 83, -84 .

(4) Mr. Macnamara was sponsored by the National Union of Teachers. Parliamentary Debates, 7th. May, 1902. c.577.

Mr. Emmott, another Liberal stressed that he too, wished to see the case of the Catholic schools treated separately.

'The Roman Catholics, by the sacrifices they have made, surely deserve special treatment...I would like to see their schools treated separately.'(1)

Even David Lloyd George admitted that the Catholic schools were in a different category from the Anglican schools:

'The essential difference between the Roman Catholic and the Anglican schools is that the Catholic schools are really Catholic, while the Anglican schools are not Anglican....
In the Catholic schools, you will not find more than one per cent. of the children who are not Catholic.'(2)

Sir Thomas Esmonde also defended the Catholic schools and appealed for generous treatment for them:

'Under this Bill, the financial position of the Catholic schools is not so good as it might have been...I hope the Government will reconsider their financial position...They represent the poorest part of the community ...the support of their schools has been far more heavy upon them than upon any other section...they have made enormous sacrifices to teach their religion in their own way...'(3)

T.P. O'Connor, the Irish Catholic who represented a Liverpool constituency, made it clear that he would not be a party to any attempt to compel the children of Nonconformist parents to attend a denominational school to which they objected. After a reference to the unequal competition between 'the board schools with the rates behind them' and the Catholic schools 'with only the pennies of the Irish poor behind them' he added:

'The Irish Catholics, who are determined, so far as they can, to get absolute equality for their own schools, will not join in any effort to inflict injustice on the schools of any other community in the country.'(4)

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 6th. August, 1902. c.980.

(2) Ibid. c.1497.

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 2nd. December, 1902. c.986.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 24th. March, 1902. c.953.

It is not quite clear exactly what O'Connor was hinting at in this statement. Apart from the rhetoric about the 'pennies of the Irish poor,' which would go down well with his constituents, the speech could be taken as a sign to the Liberals that, although he was a Catholic, O'Connor would support his Party on the issue of the control of single-school areas, that is, areas in which there was only one school and that school was a denominational one. Later in the year, when the issue of the 'Dillon Amendment' on the single-school areas came up, Mr. Tully, an Irish nationalist Member, claimed that the Amendment had been written out for Dillon by O'Connor. (1)

Throughout the Debate, Dillon's attitude showed a great deal of inconsistency. He posed as the friend of the Nonconformists on the single-school area issue, but he did not hesitate to attack them on the issue, e.g. :

'The grievance of the Nonconformists is that in 9,000 or 10,000 parishes in England and Wales there is only one school in each parish and to that school the children of millions of Nonconformists are obliged to go because there is no other... but why do Nonconformists not bring forward some practical plan other than the total destruction of the denominational character of the denominational schools which would abolish this grievance?(2)

Possibly the greatest weakness in the Catholic position was that caused by the inconsistent behaviour of the Irish Members.(3) For example, when Cardinal Vaughan established a committee of the Catholic School Committee to monitor the Bill's progress in Parliament, Redmond refused to allow any of the Irish Members to join the Committee because it was 'a Conservative-dominated body.'(4) When the Cardinal learned of Redmond's decision, he wrote to him, expressing his regret, but promising to communicate to him any decisions taken by the Committee. Redmond was not impressed. Monsignor Brown recalled :

'I saw him in his room at the House of Commons just after the letter came...'What does that Cardinal take the Irish Party for? Members of Parliament, subject to him and to his Committee! (5)

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 26th. November, 1902. cc.539-40. See p.166.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. May, 1902. c.1000 - 1,001.

(3) For some details of the Irish Members, see: O'Day, A. 'The English Face of Irish Nationalism' London, 1977. pp. 20-31.

(4) But two leading Liberals, Lord Ripon and Hon. Charles Russell (Lord John Russell's son) were members.

(5) Brown, Rev. W.F. 'Through Windows of Memory' London. 1947. p. 145.

But it is true that there was little love lost between the Irish Members and the School Committee. Thomas Allies 'publicly declared that the English Catholics did not want the help of the Irish Members because they were traitors to the Queen.' (1) Yet, in another typical inconsistency, when Liberal Members were criticising the denominational training colleges for restricting admission to members of their own denominations, Dillon turned on them and asked why 'the Nonconformists who are so wealthy, do not provide themselves with more training colleges...As far as I can understand, they stand on exactly the same footing as Catholics, who do provide colleges of their own.' (2)

The 'Dillon Amendment' which was introduced on 30th. July, 1902, owed much to a proposal made in a letter to The Times (3) by the Anglican Bishop of Hereford, 'a very important person' as Dillon described him. The Amendment proposed that in single-school areas, the managers of the single denominational school should be in the ratio of one third appointed by the denomination, one third by the local authority and one third elected either by the parish council or parish meeting. ('Parish' in this connection would mean the subdivision of the county council and not the ecclesiastical parish.) Dillon claimed that his Amendment 'would give every chance for the voice of moderation and compromise to be heard in this great struggle.' (4) But Balfour would have none of it. He agreed whole-heartedly with the principle that each locality should be allowed to determine what was to be the denominational teaching in its district. Would the board schools in single-school areas allow denominational teaching? 'The Hon. Gentleman's new friends would not look at such a scheme...they would not allow denominational teaching in the board schools whatever the majority might be.' He was convinced that the Dillon Amendment would, in every case, 'manifestly threaten...and in many cases destroy the denominational character of these schools...As long as four was more than half of six, the argument would hold good.' (5)

(1) The remark is quoted in Brown, Rev. W.F. : 'Through windows of Memory' London. 1947. p. 146. Unfortunately, Brown gives no further reference for the remark, but presumably it was made before 1890, since Allies retired from the School Committee in that year.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. May, 1902, cc.1,001 - 2.

(3) The Times, 30th. July, 1902. p. 7.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 30th. July, 1902. c. 142.

(5) Ibid. c. 146.

Dillon claimed that his Amendment, advocating broader control over denominational schools in single-school areas, had the support of nine-tenths of the Catholic community. (1) Yet a few days before Dillon introduced his Amendment, Cardinal Vaughan had stated, in a letter to The Times, that such a change in the constitution of the managerial bodies was simply 'a device for capturing the denominational schools.' It would 'establish by law, in every denominational school, the desired possibility for disintegration and disruption.' It would place every denominational school in the country 'on a basis of permanent uncertainty and unrest.' The Cardinal had ended his letter, 'Better remain as we are, poor but free, rather than put our heads into such a noose.' (2)

The Tablet expressed sorrow and indignation at the behaviour of the Irish Members. (3)

'35 of these single-district schools are Catholic schools.... Under Mr. Dillon's proposals, the right to manage these schools and to appoint the teachers would pass to whatever religious body happened to be in a majority in the district... That an Amendment so fatal to the denominational principle should have been proposed and pressed to a Division by a Catholic Member and supported by 53 Members of the Nationalist Party is a fact which we are obliged to report, but which, happily, we are not obliged to comment on.... The fact that of the schools whose denominational character Mr. Dillon's Amendment would have put in peril only 35 are Catholic and 5000 are Anglican does not alter the essential injustice of his proposal... Mr. Dillon seems not to have understood what would have been the obvious consequence of his Amendment... but the leaders of the Liberal Party had no illusions - it meant confiscation.'

But in spite of this attack on his Amendment, Dillon persisted in his attitude. (4) If so many parents in a district were in favour of denominational education, they would vote for it. The State would not be able to confiscate schools just because parents wanted a say in the management of the schools. 'Ownership is not affected by managership... if the Trustees were not satisfied with the management, the Trustees could take their buildings and do what they liked with them.' Dillon expressed his great fear that public opinion would

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. August, 1902. c.1047.

(2) The Times, 15th. July, 1902. p.8.

(3) The Tablet, 2nd. August, 1902. p.161.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. August, 1902. c.1049. Dillon's inference was incorrect. If the buildings had received a grant (i.e. they were pre-1870) or if, by his definition, they were subject to a Trust Deed, they would have to be used for education purposes. The Catholics would want to receive the Government Grant and continue to maintain the school as a Catholic school.

turn against the denominational schools 'because of the great injustice they were inflicting upon a large body of people.' In a direct reference to the article in The Tablet, he said that paper had denounced the Irish Members simply because they 'held it was an outrage that in a district where the majority of the children who attended the school belonged to other denominations than that which owned the school, they should be told that the ranks of the teachers in that school, supported as it was by public money, were closed to them! (1) No matter what might be said in The Tablet, Dillon expressed his conviction that 'the Bill, in its present shape, would be the ruin of the Catholic schools.' In an obvious reference to Cardinal Vaughan, Dillon added that the Irish Members were not at the dictation of anyone, 'I care not how highly-placed they might be.' He only knew that Irishmen would never support a system of proselytism which had, in the past, done such a cruel injustice to the people of Ireland. (2)

Balfour, too, had some doubts over the strength of feeling in the country about the management of schools which were being supported almost entirely by public money. In a letter to Bishop Talbot, the Anglican Bishop of Rochester, (3) he outlined two schemes, either of which he was prepared to support. The first would keep the number of managers at six, but of the two non-foundation managers, one would be appointed by the local authority and one by the parish council or district council. The second scheme would reduce the number of foundation managers from four to three, so that there would be three foundation managers, one manager appointed by the local authority and one by the parish council or district council. Balfour considered that the second scheme 'would preserve a distinct but not very large majority of denominational managers ...if the Church and the Romans would take this, I think the progress of the Bill would be greatly facilitated.'

Encouraged by the knowledge that the Irish Members would not be present in the Commons for the Autumn Session, a concerted

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- (1) A reference to the difficulties which Nonconformist scholars had in gaining places as pupil-teachers in the Anglican schools they attended. Gorst had promised to personally investigate any such cases referred to him. He told the Commons that 'each one of them turned out to be illusory.' (P.D. 7th. May, 1902.c.910.)
 - (2) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. August, 1902. c.1050 - 1051. Dillon added that he did not expect to have an opportunity to address the House during the Autumn Session.
 - (3) It was Bishop Talbot who, at Morant's instigation, had arranged for Morant to meet Balfour and explain his views on the re-organisation of the education system. See p. 151.

attack was made on the Bill during the Summer Recess. (The Irish leaders were going to the United States to raise funds for the Nationalist movement.) The Minister of the Westbourne Park Baptist Church in West London, Dr. John Clifford, made such vehement attacks on the Bill that Balfour produced a pamphlet replying to his criticisms.(1) In view of the language which Dr. Clifford was using to attack an Education Bill, Balfour expressed his wonder at the language which he would have used had he to describe such events as the Gunpowder Plot or the St. Bartholemew's Day Massacre.

The Tablet expressed the fears of the Catholic community that the Bill might be withdrawn after all.

'It is possible to find some cynical satisfaction in the knowledge that the future of the Ministers is bound up with their Education Bill...They cannot drop their education proposals and live...Unfortunately, they may drop the Bill - and perish!(2)

In the same issue of the paper, an Editorial called attention to a speech in which Lloyd George asked his constituents to 'prepare a suitable reception for the Education Act, 1903 (sic). ...In thousands of loyal minds, passive resistance to this gigantic and unparalleled fraud is a deep and fixed resolve.' The Tablet warned:

'This is not idle vapouring...the County Council of Caernarvonshire and the County Council of Flintshire have both pledged themselves to decline the responsibility placed upon them by this Bill...Mr. Alderman Williams of the Flintshire County Council has explained that he would be delighted to suffer imprisonment rather than to administer the provisions of this Bill.'(3)

Cardinal Vaughan was obviously alarmed at the possibility of the Bill being withdrawn. He wrote to Redmond, the Irish leader, asking him for his Party's support:

'Were this a Measure on which the Bishops of England were divided, or were it a purely political matter, I would have no right whatever to address to you this letter...But we are convinced that we are not likely ever to get a more satisfactory settlement of the education problem....We see in the triumph of the Government over the Nonconformist Opposition, as

(1) P.R.O. Ed.24/14/12A. A.J. Balfour: A Letter on the Criticisms of an Opponent of the Education Bill, 1902. The Manchester Guardian described Balfour's reply as 'very near the earth.' (5th. Dec. 1902)

(2) The Tablet, 13th. September, 1902. p.401.

(3) Ibid.

'strong a guarantee as we can ever expect to get for the liberty to educate Catholic children in the Catholic religion in our elementary schools... Will the Irish Members help to save the Christian schools?

The Cardinal went on to remind Redmond that the population of the Catholic elementary schools in England was 'made up of a large proportion of children of Irish descent, whom we love and cherish as our own...there is no sacrifice we are not prepared to make for their spiritual and temporal welfare.' He ended with the plea, 'Will the Irish Members acquit themselves as Catholics and do their part?'(1)

In view of the personal nature of the Cardinal's appeal to Redmond, it was, perhaps, a mistake to send a copy of the letter to The Times. The Irish leader certainly saw this as a form of blackmail in which the Catholic population of England and Wales would be able to judge the behaviour of the Irish Members and their response to the Cardinal's appeal. The Times commented cynically, 'So far as the Irishmen are concerned, the Roman Catholic schools in England and Wales will be left to their fate.'(2) Another Irish Member, William O'Brien, referred to the Cardinal's letter in a speech at Carrick - on - Shannon:

'There are not ten men of any party in the House of Commons who do not believe that Cardinal Vaughan's unfortunate letter did more to increase the opposition to this Bill than all the speeches of the Non-conformists put together.'

O'Brien said that any suggestion that the Irish Members should return to Westminster and make 'utterly futile Irish and Catholic demonstrations against the Amendments to the Bill' was such that he could not imagine 'anything more likely to make the Lords stick to their Amendments.....The Bishops know well that if there was the slightest shadow of danger to this Bill, Mr. Redmond and his friends would instantly take the field in Westminster...'(3)

Redmond himself returned from America on 19th. November, 1902, and assured his followers that the Bill's passage through

(1) The Tablet 11th. October, 1902. p. 401

(2) The Times, 6th. October, 1902. p. 8.

(3) The Manchester Guardian, 1st. Decemeber, 1902. p. 12

Parliament 'has never been imperilled for a single moment by the action of the Irish Members - it has passed through the House of Commons with majorities varying from 100 to 176.' (1) The Cardinal himself expressed regret for the use of the phrase 'the triumph of the Government over the Nonconformist opposition.' (2) The Manchester Guardian also commented on the use of the phrase:

'We do not want to triumph over the Church or over anybody else.....These triumphs of denomination over denomination are like bayonets, with which, it has been said, you can do anything except sit on them. You cannot rest on a triumph over the deepest feelings of millions of your countrymen.' (3)

Another veteran of the Irish Party, Michael Davitt, wrote to Redmond to warn him to be on his guard against the treachery of the English Catholic Bishops:

'The Members of the Irish National Party are asked to interest themselves not only in the children of our own Faith in the English voluntary schools, which is a natural and necessary thing to do, but you are also asked to take sides with the Established Protestant Church of England to force upon the Nonconformist Protestant children of England a dogmatic teaching to which their parents and leaders object as strongly as our fathers objected to the kind of religious teaching which was sought to be forced upon the Catholic children of Ireland by the Irish branch of this same Established Protestant Church a generation ago.....This is something which Cardinal Vaughan has no right or authority to ask Irish Catholics to do.....These English Catholic leaders are not our friends, but deadly and malignant enemies of our national movement...' (4)

A few days before he wrote to Redmond, Davitt had spoken to the Plumstead branch of the Irish League on the question of Irish support for the Education Bill:

'The bishops know what they want - and how to get it. If they care anything at all about the country represented by the Irish Members, it is purely and solely

(1) The Manchester Guardian, 20th. November, 1902. p.12.

(2) The Times, 26th. November, 1902, p. 8.

(3) The Manchester Guardian, 1st. December, 1902. In Parliament, Earl Carrington complained that the Cardinal had 'publicly complimented the Prime Minister on his victory over the nonconformists.' (P.D. 9th. December, 1902, c. 339)

(4) The Tablet, 11th. October, 1902, p.579. Davitt's parents had brought him to England in 1850. As a boy of eleven years, working in a cotton mill in Accrington, he lost his arm in an accident. In 1876, he was sent to prison for 15 years for sedition. On his release, he was elected to Parliament as an Irish nationalist Member.

'for Catholic as distinct from Irish reasons...We are good children when we back up the Church; we are a confounded nuisance when we urge our national claims... These English Catholic Bishops want no Home Rule for Ireland at the expense of losing the services of eighty or more Catholic Members in the Great British Parliament...'(1)

Such sentiments could be seen as a direct appeal to the Irish Members to wreck the Education Bill, with the Home Rule Bill taking precedence over the fate of the Catholic schools. But not all Irishmen agreed with Davitt. The Irish Daily Independent condemned his intrigue thus:

'...The grinning Nonconformists of England are now called upon by Mr. Davitt to accept his testimony as to the feelings with which Ireland and the Irish are regarded by the English Bishops... We do not believe that the great majority of the Catholic electors of Ireland will approve Mr. Davitt's gross and scurrilous attacks on the English Bishops...'(2)

There were also signs that the Catholic Hierarchy were losing patience with the Nonconformists who, having failed to provide any schools for their children, now insisted on the right to control the schools which the Anglicans and the Catholics had built. The Catholic Bishop of Salford expressed his feelings in a letter to the Manchester Guardian. Bishop John Bilsborrow wrote:

'Had we wasted our time whining at the doors of the Education Department for the establishment of board schools, or in railing against clerical control and the propagation of dogma out of public funds, we would not, in the last ten years in the Diocese of Salford, have succeeded in building seventy new schools, and enlarging old ones, at a cost of £50,000... Nonconformist parents, if they would have their children educated at all, were compelled by necessity and the apathy and neglect of their leaders, to send them to the schools which the Anglicans and the Catholics provided...'(3)

Throughout the Autumn, the Irish Members made no move to join in the debate on the Education bill in the House of Commons. At the end of October, the Manchester Guardian was able to report that 'a good many of them are in London...they are awaiting the

(1) The Tablet, 4th. October, 1902. p. 539. There were, in fact, 103 Members returned for Irish constituencies, but not all of them were Catholics. The Census returns for 1901 show that there were 41,546,598 persons resident in the United Kingdom and, of these, 4,443,370, (10.69%) lived in Ireland. Thus, in spite of their complaints, Irish electors were adequately represented, since 103 of the 670 Members, (15.5%) were returned for Irish constituencies.

(2) Quoted in The Tablet, 4th. October, 1902. p. 539.

(3) Letter to the Manchester Guardian, 17th. October, 1902. p. 6. Bishop Bilsborrow succeeded Bishop Herbert Vaughan in 1892 when Bishop Vaughan became Cardinal Manning's successor.

return of Mr. Redmond...the general impression is that the Irish Members will take no very active part in the rest of the Session.'(1)

One Irish Member, Mr. Tully, was in the Commons during the Autumn. He spoke in the Debate on the composition of the management bodies in schools in the single-school areas. He admitted that he had been 'trapped' into voting for a similar Amendment which had been put forward by the Member for East Mayo (John Dillon) earlier in the year. Tully claimed that the Amendment then put before the House and known as the Dillon Amendment, had, in fact been written out for Dillon by 'the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool' (T.P. O'Connor) Tully went on to describe Dillon's action on that occasion as one 'that could not be described in any language which the Speaker would allow to be used in the House of Commons.' He added that Dillon 'had no authority to speak for the Catholics of Ireland, clergy or laity, when he put forward that Amendment...it would have handed over thirty Catholic schools to secular education, to the exclusion of the religious element.' (2)

Sir Charles Dilke challenged Tully to produce a list of 'these mystical schools' and told him to 'direct his fire at the Amendment before the House' and not to 'shoot at distant targets.'(3) But Mr. Malcolm, the Member for Stowmarket, assured Tully of his sympathy in the position in which he found himself. He considered it was not 'a very dignified position for Members of the House of Commons to be away in America or elsewhere, looking for the wherewithal to carry on the agitation for Home Rule while they left the true teaching of their Church to look after itself in Parliament.'(4)

Meanwhile, another incident had taken place which illustrates the growing rift between the Irish Members and Catholic Church over the schools question. In October, 1902, there was a by-election at Devonport, and not surprisingly, the schools issue came up during the campaign. But, since Devonport was a safe Liberal

(1) The Manchester Guardian, 31st. October, 1902.p.4.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 26th. November, 1902, cc.539 - 540.

(3) Ibid. c.540.

(4) Ibid. cc. 541 - 542.

seat, it was expected that the question would not affect the outcome of the election.(1) The candidates were the Conservative-Unionist, Mr. J. Lockie, and the Liberal, the Hon. T.A. Brassey. Naturally, with the prospect of a Home Rule Bill in mind, the local St. Patrick's branch of the Irish League urged the 400 Irish electors in the constituency to vote for Brassey 'because to vote for Lockie is to vote for coercion.' The secretary of the branch, Mr. J.F. McGavey, in a speech to Catholic electors, told them not to be fooled by arguments about the Education Bill. 'The Education Bill was not introduced for Irish Catholics but for English Churchmen.'(2)

One unexpected factor may have swung the vote in favour of the Unionist. The local Protestant Alliance, an anti-Catholic group, urged all its members to support the Liberal candidate on the grounds that if the Education Bill was passed, this would further increase the influence of the priests. (3) There would be few, if any Catholics who would wish to be associated with the Protestant Alliance, but still The Times explained:

'The Roman Catholics have decided to support Mr. Lockie, but as the Irish National League have pledged their support for Mr. Brassey, the Roman Catholic vote will be divided...'(4)

A last-minute telegram from Mr. J F-X O'Brien, an official of the League, urging that 'every Irish Nationalist should vote against Lockie, the coercionist candidate,'(5) failed to rally sufficient support, and the Liberal was defeated by 28 votes. Not surprisingly, the priests were blamed for the Liberal defeat:

'The Irish vote, or much of it, went over to the Government under clerical advice....which just now would be coloured by regard for the Education Bill.'(6)

Certainly, the local priest had campaigned for the Conservative-Unionist candidate who was known to be a strong supporter of the voluntary schools. 'For the moment, it seemed he would be over-

(1) During the campaign, Mr. Balfour had authorised the Conservative-Unionist candidate to deny any rumours that the Education Bill was to be withdrawn.

(2) The Times, 13th. October, 1902. p. 7.

(3) Ibid. 17th. October, 1902, p. 9.

(4) Ibid.

(5) The Times, 22nd. October, 1902, p. 9.

(6) The Manchester Guardian, 23rd. October, 1902, p. 6.

borne by the agents of the Irish National League, who went among the Irish Catholic electors, calling on them to vote for the Radical candidate, an avowed opponent of the Education Bill.'(1)

However, overall statistics suggest that the Education Bill had an adverse effect on the Government's popularity. In the six by-elections contested since the introduction of the Education Bill, 'an aggregate Unionist majority of 8,570 was turned into an aggregate Liberal majority of 1,912.(2) Cardinal Vaughan's anxieties must have increased as he noticed some of the Amendments which were being proposed, in the absence of the great majority of the Irish Members. For example, on 26th. November, 1902, an Amendment was voted upon which would have made it necessary for a voluntary school in a single-school area to have four elected managers and two foundation managers. The consequences for a Catholic school in such an area would have been extremely serious. Yet the Amendment was defeated only by the votes of the Government, very few of the Irish Members being present.(3)

Even in Catholic circles in Ireland, there was a feeling that the Irish Members were not doing the right thing in leaving the Education Bill to its fate. Cardinal Logue, the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, sent a letter to the Irish Daily Independent which he had received from an Irish priest who had asked the Cardinal not to divulge his name. The Cardinal said it was a name which 'would carry great weight among Irish Catholics.' In his letter, the priest accused the Irish Members of having 'basely and treacherously abandoned the Irish Catholics in England in their hour of sorest need...We supported them by voice, by vote, and by purse, and this is our reward.' The letter went on to list three Amendments, all adversely affecting the Catholic schools, which had been carried during the Autumn when the Irish Members were absent. The Amendments were: the Local Authorities would have the right to appoint two managers to each board, and the right to insist on the dismissal of an inefficient teacher against the wishes of the board of managers; the Amendment making voluntary school managers

(1) The Tablet, 29th. November, 1902. p. 841.

(2) The Manchester Guardian, 5th. December, 1902. p.6.

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 26th. November, 1902. c. 590.

responsible for the upkeep of the exterior of their schools; the Kenyon-Slaney Amendment giving non-Catholics a voice in the religious teaching in Catholic schools.(1) Finally, the anonymous priest asked the Cardinal to do something to persuade the Irish Members to return to Westminster. 'If they return now, they might effect something in the Report Stage of the Bill.'(2)

Of course, there were other Irish priests who thought quite differently about giving help to the English Catholics. One such wrote to The Tablet to say that the Irish owed absolutely nothing to the English Catholics. 'We have received nothing from them except contempt...Like the Bourbons, they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing....If the Irish element in Britain, priests, nuns and people, came home, the rest could be accommodated, with seats, in Cardinal Vaughan's new Cathedral.'(3)

But, in the main, it would seem that there was a feeling the Irish Members had failed to do what they could have done to support the Education Bill. The Irish priests working in London, after a meeting at the Cannon Street Hotel, issued a statement on their views. They recorded, 'with very deep regret, that on a question which specifically affects the interests of Catholics in England, we have been deserted by the leaders of our own people...' The meeting considered Redmond's explanation of the conduct of the Irish Members as 'totally inadequate.' It was a direct result of this conduct, the statement said, that there would now be the 'impossible situation of non-Catholic managers having a voice in the teaching of the Catholic religion in the Catholic schools; that Catholics would have to meet the cost of repairs to their schools, and be forced to accept text-books 'which may be adverse to the Catholic religion and to the history of our race.'(4)

On 29th. November, 1902, The Tablet, for the first time, was able to shed a little light on what had been going on behind the scenes. (5) On 6th. October, 1902, the Irish Bishops had

(1) The real purpose of the Kenyon-Slaney Amendment was to prevent a vicar, who was also the Chairman of Managers, from having religious instruction in his school which might have been in conflict with the accepted Anglican teaching. It was very unlikely that the Catholic schools would be affected .

(2) Irish Daily Independent, 13th. November, 1902. Quoted in The Tablet, 22nd. November, 1902. p.810.

(3) The Tablet, 13th. December, 1902, p.937.

(4) The Manchester Guardian, 27th. November, 1902, p. 8.

(5) The Tablet, 29th. November, 1902. p.841.

written to Redmond. In a confidential letter, they reminded the Irish leader and his Party that the Irish Hierarchy fully supported Cardinal Vaughan's appeal for their help in passing the Education Bill.(1) In his reply, Redmond admitted that the failure of the Bill would place a heavy burden on the Catholics in England. But he went on to remind the Bishops of 'the even heavier burdens which the Irish Catholics had to bear because of the Government's incompetence in dealing with Irish affairs.' He expressed the hope that the Bishops would appreciate 'the disadvantage which would arise if the Irish Party gave any premature disclosure of their intentions in Parliament.'(2)

Redmond wrote to all the Irish Members early in December and explained the 'deep concern' over the continued absence of the Party from Westminster. He was particularly concerned about the fears which the Irish Bishops felt about the Catholic schools in England, a question on which 'they have a special right to have their views listened to with the deepest respect.' But Redmond confined his remarks to the fears of the Irish Bishops. He went on to insist that he 'paid no attention to the utterances of those who are well-known enemies of the Movement and the Party.... who are manifestly using the present situation, not in the interest of Catholic education, but in the interests of disruption and dissension.'(3)

The Irish Members were back at Westminster on 16th. December, the day on which the Bill passed the Third Reading.(4) The Tablet gave a qualified approval to their return. 'If they had been in their places during the Committee stage of the Bill, how much more unqualified might have been the approval we now extend to the whole Measure.'(5) One Amendment certainly was carried in the final stages of the Debate which was to cost the Catholic schools and the rest of the voluntary schools dear in the years to come. The Lord Bishop of Manchester had moved an Amendment in the Lords that 'all damage due to fair wear and tear in the use of any room in the school-house for the purpose of a public elementary school shall be made good by the local education

(1) The Tablet, 29th. November, 1902, p.841.

(2) The Manchester Guardian, 29th. November, 1902. p.8.

(3) The Tablet, 6th. December, 1902. p.888 - 889.

(4) The Manchester Guardian, 17th. December, 1902. p.7.

(5) The Tablet, 13th. December, 1902. p.902.

authority.'(1) Lloyd George proposed the removal of the word 'all' and the insertion of 'such' in its place. The paragraph eventually read 'such damage as the local authority consider to be due to fair wear and tear of the school...'

It is of interest that Morant had anticipated that the question of payment for damage to school premises due to fair wear and tear would arise before the Bill passed into law. This may have been because of a point raised by Dillon before the Summer Recess.(2) He had expressed the fear that the clause requiring the denominational managers to pay for 'the maintenance, repairs and improvements in the buildings that might be required by the local authority' could have serious consequences for the voluntary schools. The clause 'would put into the hands of any local education authority hostile to the denominational system, the power of squeezing out of existence every denominational school within five years.' During the Recess, Morant asked Mr. Coore, one of his assistants, to ascertain how much the voluntary schools were spending on their premises, expressed as the cost per child in average attendance.(3) Morant also wished to know how much of the aid-grant, paid under the terms of the 1897 Act, had been spent on repairs and minor improvements approved by the Department or the Board, since the aid-grant would cease to be paid when the 1902 Act was implemented.(4) Clearly, Morant felt that, because the amounts involved were so small, it was hardly worth while attempting to legislate over them. In the original terms of the Bill, such expense would have been borne by the local authority. Lloyd George felt that this would be asking the local authorities 'to keep up a concert hall and ball-room in each parish for the use of the denomination.'(5) But the Amendment cost the voluntary schools a great deal of expense.

The Bill received the Royal Assent on 20th. December, 1902. It was to be forty-two years before another Education Bill of such importance became law.(6) Even then, the basic agreement of the 1902 Act between the Government and the voluntary schools remained unchanged, except for adjustments in the financial clauses. It is a

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 16th. December, 1902. c.1383.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 7th. August, 1902. c.1050.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.24/5/12d. dated 30th. October, 1902.

(4) See Table 12, p.178 for details.

(5) Parliamentary Debates, 16th. December, 1902. c.1385.

(6) The 'Butler Act' received the Royal Assent on 4th. August, 1944.

tribute to the essential justice of the 1902 Act that in 42 years no Government could find sufficient support to replace the settlement the Act achieved. Of course, it could be argued that if the Parliament Act of 1911 had been introduced as soon as the Liberals came into office in 1905, thus curbing the power of the House of Lords, Birrell's Bill of 1906 might well have become law and the settlement would have been revised. But the 'ifs' of history are innumerable! The Debate was possibly the last occasion on which social, political and religious issues were so closely united on opposing sides. Canon Gore considered that the Act, to a large degree, alienated the working-classes from the Church of England for many years to come.(1) Some of the Anglican clergy were aware of the rift, and were concerned about it. The Bishop of Norwich asked the clergy in his diocese to keep perfect silence on the Bill during the long debate. (2) On the Catholic side, the Abbot of Downside proposed that the Catholics should accept popular control on the managerial bodies of their schools, thus countering Nonconformist objections to rate aid without popular control.(3)

But overall, there seemed to be a distrust of the ultimate consequences of destroying denominational teaching in schools. This is not surprising after a century of elementary education in which the generosity of the churches, the Anglican church in particular, had been so marked. People were not quite certain what 'undenominationalism' was.

'Undenominationalism' as a principle was negative and liable to become a dogma in itself, which would mean ultimately the decay and death of all specific religious convictions.'(4)

Even Beatrice Webb distrusted it. She wrote in her diary:

'For my own children and for those of other people, I deliberately believed the lie of materialism to be far more pernicious and more utterly false than

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- (1) Gullifer, N.R. 'Opposition to the 1902 Education Act' Oxford Review of Education, V.8, No.1. 1982, p.83.
Quoted from Welsh, R.E. 'The Capture of the Schools' p.39.
- (2) Gullifer, N.R. Op. cit. p. 83.
- (3) Sachs, B. 'The Religious Issue in the State Schools of England and Wales, 1902 - 1914.' p.10. James Sexton, a Catholic, reminded the T.U.C. conference in 1904, 'Let us not forget all we have to avenge, including the Education Act.'
- (4) Moberly, R.C. 'Undenominationalism' London, 1902. p.24.

the untruths which seem to me to constitute the Christian formula of religion.'(1)

Balfour's determination to preserve the denominational schools stemmed from his own deep personal faith. Professor Eaglesham described him as

'a profound believer in the great truths of religionwith a profound disbelief in the ordinary man's capacity to think systematically about religion or about anything else.....
If education legislation could save the Church schools, it ought not to be at the cost of giving any effective popular control.....
School Boards, with their association with scientists like Huxley(2), must have seemed like dispensers of dangerous doctrines...In 1902, Balfour believed, and believed profoundly, that all worthwhile education must be permeated with the religious spirit.'(3)

But eighty years after the long (4) and bitter Debate, the political and religious aspects of the controversy stand out clearly. The Anglican Church, closely associated with the Conservative Party, had its proud record of providing elementary education for the children of the labouring classes for over a century. This record was now challenged by political opponents, claiming to champion the rights of the same labouring classes, whose record in the provision of elementary education was insignificant compared with that of the Anglican body. The fortunes of the political arena had given these same opponents the power to provide the elementary education which they considered desirable for the nation's children out of the public purse. The success of their well-financed schools exposed the weaknesses of the poorer denominational schools. If the denominations wanted similar schools, they would have to merge their schools in the State schools, by bringing them under full popular control.

Unfortunately for the Liberals, the issue could not have been raised at a worse time. The South African war had called

(1) Quoted in Gullifer, N.R.: 'Opposition to the 1902 Education Act,' Oxford Review of Education V.8, No.1. 1982. p.83.

(2) Thomas Huxley had been a member of the Devonshire Commission, 1872 -75. As a member of the London School Board, he had insisted that religious teaching in the Board's schools was to be confined to Bible instruction only.

(3) Eaglesham, E. 'Planning the Education Bill of 1902' in British Journal of Education Studies, November, 1960, pp. 23 - 24.

(4) The Bill occupied 5 days of Parliamentary time on First and Second Readings; 48 days in Committee; 7 days on the Report Stage and 6 in the Lords.

for a much greater expenditure of national resources than had been expected. When the Cockerton Judgement made it necessary to introduce a comprehensive education measure,

'the financial position of the Government was as unable to stand the strain of the Exchequer Grants to the voluntary schools as the pockets of subscribers were to support them...Owing to Morant and the Conservative Government, the denominational party won.'(1)

J.H. Tebbutt considered the whole affair had been mishandled:

'Had the issue been handled firmly from the start, the passage of the Bill would have been far more expeditious ...But instead of this, all comers were allowed to tamper with it...The originators tried to please everybody, and, in the end, utterly failed to please anybody.'(2)

Much of the subsequent criticism of the Act has tended to be ideological rather than factual. Brian Simon attributes the 'Liberal Landslide' in the 1905 election to reaction over the bill.(3) But after ten years in power, there were other issues which played a part in the Conservative defeat, e.g. the Taff Vale case, the importation of Chinese indentured labour into South Africa when unemployment was high at home, and the tariff protection issue.

On Simon's assertion that the 1902 Act 'broke the direct relationship between the people and the school system,' it would have to be admitted that the people showed a singular lack of interest in maintaining the relationship since less than 25% of those eligible to vote in the school board elections actually voted in 1900! Far more convincing is the suggestion that the fate of the school boards was sealed in 1889 when the County Council Act was passed. 318 local authorities replaced 2,568 school boards, 800 school attendance committees and 14,000 boards of managers. (4) The Debate in Parliament over the Technical Instruction Bills in 1888-89 highlighted the hopeless nature of the school board system when national reforms of the education system were to be implemented. Over half of the school boards in the country were responsible for the elementary education of less than 1,000 people. Only one school board in five served communities of more than 5,000 people.(5)

(1) Rogers, A.: 'Churches and Children' British Journal of Education Studies, V.8. 1959 - 60. pp.29 - 50.

(2) Tebbutt, J.H.: 'The Education Imbroglio.' London. 1906. p.6.

(3) Simon, B.: The 1902 Education Act, History of Education Society Bulletin, Spring, 1977, pp. 8 - 14.

(4) Cruickshank, M. Ibid. pp. 5 - 7.

(5) The Debate showed that in 1889 there were still 163 boroughs in England and Wales without school boards. Preston, Stockport, Warrington and Birkenhead were examples. (P.D. 15th. July, 1889 c. 441.)

Even in the large boroughs, where the expenditure on board schools was considered excessive by the voluntary school supporters, in many cases there is evidence that financial rather than educational considerations were most important. Of the 22 largest school boards in the country, 15 spent less than £1 annually on each child in its schools. (1)

Since 1870, the public attitude towards the voluntary schools had changed. Even Joseph Chamberlain, for so long a champion of the board schools, had moderated his views by 1896. At a meeting in Birmingham Town Hall in that year, he conceded that 'contrary to all our expectations in 1870, the voluntary schools have increased enormously...They have shown a hold on the public mind...they have acquired a popularity...they now provide for the education of four sevenths of our children...I do not think it is practical politics to talk about rooting them up.' (2) When Chamberlain uttered similar sentiments during the Debate on the 1902 Bill, an editorial in The Manchester Guardian (3) commented that 'unless Mr. Chamberlain can suggest means by which this defect (i.e. making the denominational schools a public charge) can be remedied, it is in vain that he will attempt to conciliate the opposition of Free Churchmen in Birmingham or anywhere else.' One possible cause for Chamberlain's change of attitude may have been that, as he once said in Birmingham, if the school board took over the voluntary schools in that city, the school board rate would rise from 1s. in the £ to 1s.6d. or even 2s.

Indeed, the cost of replacing the voluntary schools had been one of the options which the Cabinet had asked Morant to look into. In a memorandum which he presented to the Cabinet, he considered two aspects of this question. Figures suggested that the cost of building board schools was about £12 per place in rural areas and £14 per place in urban areas. If the necessary money was borrowed at 5% to provide for places on these costs, 12s. - 15s. per place would have to be set aside for interest charges and a sinking fund. If the existing voluntary schools were purchased,

(1) Annual Report of the Committee of Council, 1896 - 7. The Hull School Board spent 7s.7d. on each scholar in its schools, the London School Board spent £2 0s. 1d.

(2) P.R.O. File Ed.24/15a/R. Report dated 1st. May, 1896.

(3) The Manchester Guardian, 10th. October, 1902. p.6.

and most of them were subject to trusts and could not be sold on the open market, about £5 - £7 per place would cover the cost.(1)

The Liberal Peer, Lord Carrington, recalling the passing of the Act of 1870, said it was then believed that 'all the rotten Church schools would die out and the best ones would survive.' He went on:

'If we had imagined for one moment that, 32 years afterwards, we would have seen a Bill introduced which would have kept up, with public money, clerical schools, and left them under clerical control, and including Roman Catholic schools, I say on my honour, that I, and all that band of Liberals with whom I voted, would have cut off our hands at the wrist before consenting...'(2)

But the Bishop of Manchester reminded Lord Carrington:

'The Nonconformists get exactly the same advantages as the Church of England or the Church of Rome... the money which represents the rest of the rates and taxes is given to the support of the schools which, under the Cowper-Temple Clause, provide religious education for the children of Nonconformists which is entirely acceptable to them'(3)

Although Lord Carrington spoke of the Bill as 'endowing Roman Catholic schools' in 'Protestant England'(4) the schools of the other denominations received exactly the same advantages as the Catholic schools received. But, because of the terrible poverty of the Catholic schools before 1902, the Act meant more to the Catholics than to any other denomination. The repeated references to the Catholic schools to illustrate some case of hardship in the course of the Debate annoyed the Liberals. For example, when Balfour reminded the Commons that there would be difficulties at the exclusion of the many institutions each one of which considered it had a right to be represented on the education committees, he considered there should be a representative of the Roman Catholics on such committees. Mr. Bryce then intervened to ask Balfour why he always 'trotted out' the case of the Roman Catholics when difficulties were going to arise. He expressed the opinion that the Roman Catholic schools were being 'used' in the Debate.(5)

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24./ 14. Document 27, undated.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, 9th. December, 1902. c.338.

(3) Ibid. c.340.

(4) Ibid. c.338.

(5) Ibid. 4th. August, 1902. c.393 - 399.

(It was during this exchange that Lloyd George told Balfour that if he was so concerned about Roman Catholic representation in education, he should not have 'abandoned' the school boards, which gave the Catholics a voice in the management of the system.(1))

Cardinal Vaughan's relief at the passing of the Act is reflected in a letter he wrote to Morant on the day the Bill received the Royal Assent:

'Now that your ship has entered port after so much stress of weather, I must write one line of congratulation and most heartfelt thanks for all you have done for us - for the tact and determination by which you have brought about the impossible on more than one occasion, and for a Bill that is destined to save Christianity in England while it is being wrecked by education in so many lands..... May God bless you and prosper you in all your coming work. The quiet, silent work of turning the law into a really efficient instrument is now all yours...'(2)

Fortunately for all concerned, the letter was not published until 1934. But it is not difficult to imagine the uproar there would have been if the Nonconformists had known that a leading civil servant, by the nature of his post an impartial servant, had earned such praise from one side in a most bitter dispute.

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 4th. August, 1902, cc. 395 - 399.

(2) Allen, B.: 'Sir Robert Morant.' London. 1934. pp. 197 - 198.

TABLE 12. COST OF REPAIRS TO VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, 1902.SOURCE: P.R.O. File Ed.24/5/12d. dated 30th. October, 1902.

(The figures in a memorandum which Coore prepared for Morant were based on details from all 346 Wesleyan schools and on samples of 100 schools from the Anglican and Catholic communities.)

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>MAINTENANCE</u>	<u>REPAIRS</u>	<u>AV. ATTEND.</u>	<u>COST/CHILD</u>
346 Wesleyan.	£2 6s. 4½d.	£5,939	94,350	1s. 3d. (1/37)
100 C. of E.	£2 6s 7½d.	£1,962	20,472	1s.11d. (1/24)
100 R.C.	£2 4s. 2½d.	£2,879	26,602	2s. 2d. (1/20)

Morant's Comment:

'These figures show how small a matter it is for the Local Authority to pay for the non-structural repairs; at an average of 2s. per scholar in average attendance, the cost to the rates would be:

COUNTY BOROUGHES.

Birmingham	¼d. rate	Bolton	½d. rate
Bradford	¼d. rate.	Dudley	¾d. rate
Grimsby	½d. rate	Leicester	¼d. rate.
Manchester	¾d. rate.	Salford	½d. rate.
Blackburn	1d. rate.	Wolverhampton	¾d. rate.
West Ham	½d. rate.	Hastings	¼d. rate.

EXPENDITURE OF THE AID GRANT.

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>1899 - 1900</u>		<u>1900 - 1901</u>	
	<u>REPAIRS</u>	<u>MINOR IMPR.</u>	<u>REPAIRS</u>	<u>MINOR IMPR.</u>
C.of E.	£47,039	£39,635	£44,400	£38,017
R.C.	£ 6,297	£ 5,990	£ 3,600	£ 7,351
BRIT. SOC.	£ 1,941	£ 2,916	£ 2,105	£ 2,507
WESLEYAN.	£ 2,467	£ 2,815	£ 1,707	£ 2,181.
JEWISH.	£ 180	NIL.	£ 60	£ 40.

In November, 1901, when he was drafting the Bill, Morant wrote to the authorities in several large towns.(1) In his letter, marked 'Please treat this an exceedingly confidential matter,' he asked for estimates of the cost of bringing the premises of the voluntary schools up to standard. The schools were to be listed by name, and an estimate of the cost for each individual schools given. Only one authority, Bolton, appears to have given the details as asked for. (The six Catholic schools there required an estimated £9,750 spent on them to bring them up to standard.) Liverpool merely listed its 107 voluntary schools, 20 of which required no money spent on them, whilst any money spent on five or six others would be money wasted. The Birmingham Authority simply classified its voluntary schools as 15 'conspicuously below standard,' 19 with some defects, 14 were 'good' and 2 'very good.'

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24/16/105 dated November, 1901.

THE 1902 EDUCATION ACT IN OPERATION.

At Balfour's request, Morant monitored the working of the Act very carefully. By October, 1903, he was able to give the Prime Minister(1) a fairly encouraging account of the manner in which the Act was being implemented.(2) 47 out of 49 county councils, 61 out of 66 county boroughs and 163 out of 182 urban district councils were implementing the Act. Not unexpectedly, opposition to the Act was strongest in Wales. Morant wrote:

'Of the 13 counties in Wales, six have still failed to take their appointed day; seven have taken the appointed day and the Act is now operative in those areas, but, of the seven, five are administering the Act in an absolutely illegal manner...What these Welsh Authorities are doing is to leave the voluntary schools just where they were before the Act, with the additional disadvantage that an educational rate is levied on every parish in the County.'

Not all Welsh Nonconformists were against the Act. Morant's Review mentions a visit from the Lord Lieutenant of Merionethshire who complained that many Nonconformists refused to pay the education rate because none of it was being spent on the parish schools. Morant also noted that the National Union of Teachers had instructed its members to sue the managers of their schools if they did not receive their salaries at the correct time. In turn, the managers would be able to sue the authority for the necessary amount. Apparently, 'the Bishop of St. Asaph, some months ago, tried to arrange a Concordat with Lloyd George in respect of the schools in his Diocese...this has now broken down...the Bishops urge that the Government cannot let the Act be disobeyed openly.'

Morant was of opinion that a wholesale imprisonment of members of the local authorities would not be a satisfactory remedy. His Review suggests that the idea of some kind of a default measure came from the Bishops. 'What the Bishop of St. David's and many who think like him say is that they will contrive to hold on, finding money privately for three, four, or even five months, providing that it be now announced authoritatively that when

(1) Balfour had introduced the Bill as President of the Board, but had become Prime Minister on Lord Salisbury's retirement in May, 1902.

(2) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/14, Document 23, dated 28th. October, 1903. 'A Review of the Position consequent on the Passing of the 1902 Education Act.'

Parliament meets, the Government will take steps to prevent the continuance of the rebellious action of the Authorities.'(1)
 This statement would make it appear that the Welsh Bishops were the prime movers in the plan to introduce some kind of a default Bill, but it is not difficult to see some of Morant's promptings in the proposed legislation.

'The particular form which this legislation should take, it is suggested, is that the Board of Education should be empowered to pay directly to each school which the Authority fails to maintain, all the Grants, including the new Aid Grant, in respect of the school, and in addition, such extra monies to be deducted from the new special grant to the board schools as would bring the income of the voluntary school in question up to the level of the corresponding board school in the area.'

Morant noted in the margin, 'Of course, it is not proposed that the announcement should take any such definite shape as this.'
 He went on:

'It is urged that if the Local Authorities knew what was coming, they might play the game properlythe essence of the suggestion is that an authoritative announcement must be made now, in order that the schools may be kept going in the intervening five or six months.'(2)

Morant also referred to the situations in Northamptonshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire and Durham. It seemed to him that it was likely that there would be trouble in such areas.

'What the passive resistance movement is doing is to make many leading Churchmen feel very strongly that, rather than continue an apparent condition of strife, they may, perhaps, be wise to consider a Concordat....but no such Concordat would be considered unless it gave the denominations facilities within school hours in the board schools.'(3)

The document is in typescript, but there is a hand-written note:

'What is important now is that we all know if there is any prospect of such a remedy being passed next year. If not, we ought to be helping now with the patching-up of Concordats.....to stop the spectacle of the Government's impotence in face of the maladministration of the Act.'(4)

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24/14, Document 23, 23rd. October, 1903.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

For a time, it seemed as if local opposition to the working of the Act could assume serious proportions. Dr John Clifford was Chairman of the National Passive Resistance League which was founded in 1903. The League published its monthly magazine, The Crusader, from an office at Crane Court, just off Fleet Street. The League offered advice to those who wished to protest against the Act by refusing to pay that part of the rate which was to given to denominational schools. The plan was a simple one. If there were no such schools in a local authority's area, the rates would be paid in full. But if so much as one denominational school - Anglican or Catholic - was supported by the rates, members of the League were instructed to deduct from the rate paid, an amount of money equal to that which it was estimated would be spent on the denominational schools. Of course, legal action followed the Members' refusal to pay the rate in full. By the end of 1903, 37,296 summonses had been issued on Members for failure to pay the rate demanded. There had been 1,504 sales of property under distraint and 80 Members had actually gone to prison. By the end of 1906, 73,816 summonses had been issued on Members, there had been 2,382 sales under distraint and 280 members had gone to prison.(1)

At the annual meeting of the Catholic Education Council in May, 1905, Rev. Fr. O'Reilly, the representative of the Cardiff Archdiocese, requested the Council to bring to the notice of the Board of Education the difficulties which the Catholic elementary schools were having in their dealings with the County

(1) Statistics quoted in Sachs, B.: The Religious Issue in the State Schools of England and Wales, 1902 - 1914. 1961. p.43.

councils in his area. he quoted the case of the Catholic school at Mountain Ash, which had received no support from the Local Authority for a year and a half. The same Annual Report (1) mentions disputes over the amount of time which the Local Authorities in the West Riding of Yorkshire and in County Durham allowed for religious instruction. There was a similar dispute in Sheffield between the Catholic clergy and the Local Authority over the amount of time to be devoted to religious instruction.(2)

Undoubtedly the most serious threat to the implementation of the Act was that posed by the action of the West Riding of Yorkshire County Council. It has to be remembered that not only did the Court of Appeal find for this Local Authority but also, when the case went to the house of Lords, three of the Law Lords disagreed with the Lord Chancellor's judgement in favour of the voluntary schools. The case is well documented in a file at the Public Record Office.(3) When the Education Committee of the County Council met on 16th. March, 1904, a resolution was passed to the effect that where a teacher in a non-provided(4) school was engaged during school hours in giving instruction 'other than the secular instruction for which alone the Education Authority is made responsible by the Education Act of 1902,' a deduction was to be made from the teacher's salary 'of such amount as shall, in the opinion of the Education Authority, represent the time occupied in giving instruction other than the secular instruction.' However, where such instruction was in accordance with the terms of Section 14 of the Act of 1870, (i.e. Cowper-Temple instruction) no deduction would be made. In January, 1905, the correspondents of the non-provided schools in the West Riding were informed that, with effect from 1st. May, 1905, the salaries of the head-teachers would be reduced by a certain amount. 'It rests with the Managers to provide for any such instruction, without cost to the rate-payers at large.' The suggestion was that the Managers should pay the head-teachers the amount which the Council deducted from their salaries.

The Board of Education was inundated with complaints from Managers who had doubts about the legality of the County Council's action. The Board dealt with each case by following the precedent

(1) Annual Report of the Catholic Education Council, 1904. p.17.

(2) Minutes of the Meeting of the Sheffield Education Committee, 26th. June, 1905. Sheffield City Archives.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/45/1907. 'The Schuster Papers - A Brief History of the West Riding Case.'

(4) Under the terms of the 1902 Education Act, voluntary schools' premises were not provided by the Local Authority - hence the term 'non-provided.'

created in the reply to the managers of the Darfield Church of England school. In the 'Darfield Precedent' the Board expressed the opinion that the Council's proposed action 'contravenes the provisions of the 1902 Education ActThe Board recommend that your Managers should take no steps to comply with the direction given by the Education Committee, and should so inform the Local Authority.' Meanwhile the Board had informed the West Riding County Council that the Board's legal advisors had formed the opinion that 'the Resolution passed by your Council on 16th. March, 1904, will, if acted upon, contravene the provisions of the Education Act, 1902.' The Board added that they were recommending all the managers who appealed to them 'to take no steps to comply with the directive based on that Resolution.' (1)

The legal advice to which the Board referred had been given by Sir Robert Finlay, K.C., and Sir Edward Carson, K.C. The Board had asked them 'if there is any distinctionbetween the time spent in giving denominational instruction and in giving religious instruction which is not distinctive of any particular religious belief.' Their reply was that, under the 1902 Act, no such distinction could be made. The County Council disregarded the Board's letter and reduced the salaries of the head-teachers of four voluntary schools. The schools were the Catholic school at Hemsworth, and the National Society's schools at Swinton, Otley and Thornhill. On 21st. July, 1905, the Board formally ordered the Council to pay to the head-teachers concerned that portion of their salaries which had been deducted, and the Council refused to obey the order. The Board immediately obtained a writ of 'mandamus' against the Council and this was made absolute by the Divisional Court. The Council went to the Court of Appeal and the Court discharged the writ, so putting the action of the Council within the law.

With memories of the Cockerton Judgement still fresh in their minds, local authorities all around the country became concerned that if they continued to pay teachers for the time spent in giving denominational religious instruction, they might be surcharged for illegal expenditure. The London County Council asked Sir Robert Finlay, K.C. for his advice as to whether the Auditor would have the power 'to make a surcharge in respect of such a payment.' His opinion was that, on the judgement of the Court of Appeal, it would appear that the Council would have no power to

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.24/45, Document 4551A, dated 7th. March, 1905.

defray the expense of denominational religious teaching in a non-provided school, 'and the Auditor would have the power to make a surcharge in respect of such payments.' Sir Robert added that the judgement of the Court of Appeal was, in his opinion, erroneous, and he advised the Council to 'continue the practice which has hitherto been followed until the case has been heard in the House of Lords.'

The London County Council received the report of the Law Officers on 8th. October, 1906, on which date there was no indication that the case would be going to the House of Lords. At the meeting held on 8th. October, the County Council decided to ask the Board of Education if it was the intention of the Board to take the case to the Lords. During the following week, when the Auditor, T. B. Cockerton, was holding the Annual Audit, he received two deputations. One of these was led by Rev. Sylvester Horne, the Non-conformist Minister who had been a member of the London School Board. This deputation reminded the Auditor of the ruling of the Appeal Court, and asked him to interpret the law as it had been defined. This implied putting a surcharge on the London County Council for the payments already made to head-teachers of voluntary schools. The second deputation was led by the Hon. Charles Russell and Mr. Snead-Cox, the editor of the The Tablet, and consisted of members of the Catholic Education Council.(1) This deputation insisted that if the Appeal Court judgement was upheld, all religious teaching in provided and non-provided schools would have to cease, and this was certainly not the intention of Parliament when the Education Act was passed. The Council's solicitor and the Auditor decided that the issues raised by the two deputations were so serious that the meeting would have to be adjourned to enable the issues to be considered at length. The next hearing was fixed for 27th. November, 1906. The meeting did not take place as the Board decided that the case should be referred to the House of Lords. After hearing evidence on 12th. December, 1906, the Lord Chancellor gave the judgement on 15th. December, 1906. He ruled that if the religious instruction given in one type of school, viz. the provided schools, was necessary to maintain the schools and was paid for out of the rates, then it was necessary also in order to maintain the non-provided schools. 'If it (i.e. the religious instruction) is covered by the words 'to maintain' in one type of school, it must be so covered in the other also.' But three of the Law Lords

(1) The body established in 1904 to carry on the work of the former Catholic School Committee.

argued there was also a responsibility on the local authority to keep a school 'efficient,' and it was impossible for the authority to do this. 'How can the Local Authority keep a school efficient as regards a part of the instruction provided over which they have no power of control? ...They cannot be deemed to be liable to 'maintain' in the sense of paying the cost, unless they are also in a position to secure efficiency by exercising control.'

As will be seen later, the settlement of the West Riding case in favour of the voluntary schools could be described as marking the high-water mark of the opposition to the 1902 Act. A week after the Law Lords had announced their decision, the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, announced the withdrawal of the controversial 1906 Education Bill.(1) Meanwhile, several of the local authorities in Wales had written to the managers of the voluntary schools in their areas requiring them to terminate the engagements of their teachers. 'The object is to reduce salaries in proportion to the time spent in religious instruction.'(2) A motion before the Chester Education Committee proposing a reduction in the salaries of teachers in the voluntary schools failed to find a seconder.(3) At its meeting on 27th. December, the West Riding County Council agreed to pay the arrears of salary to the four head-teachers which had accumulated since 1st. May, 1905, and also to pay interest on the arrears.(4)

It must remain a matter of speculation why Mr. Birrell, the President of the Board of Education in the Liberal Government, introduced a Bill in Parliament seeking to make legal that which the West Riding County Council wished to do, and then insisted on going to the House of Lords to appeal against that Council's right to do it. It is possible that Birrell, knowing that he would not be at the Board of Education when Parliament re-assembled after the Recess, wanted to leave the ground as clear as possible for his successor to introduce his Bill.(5) When Mr. McKenna introduced his Bill in February, 1907, he explained that his Bill sought to restore the position to what it was when the Court of Appeal had upheld the right of the West Riding Council to withhold a proportion of the salaries due to the head-teachers.

(1) The Bill was withdrawn on 20th. December, 1906.

(2) The Times, 4th. October, 1906.

(3) Ibid. 9th. October, 1906.

(4) The details of the West Riding Case are taken from P.R.O. File Ed.24/45/1907. 'The Schuster Papers - A Brief History of the West Riding Case.'

(5) Birrell was appointed Secretary for Ireland in January, 1907.

But when McKenna's Bill was introduced in the Commons(1) numerous difficulties and objections to it became obvious. It is reasonable to assume that similar difficulties and objections would have been raised if any attempt had been made to put the proposals of the West Riding County Council into practice.

CATHOLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS AFTER 1902.

Section 7 of the 1902 Act provided that 'such damage as the Local Authority consider to be due to fair wear and tear in the use of any room in the school for the purposes of a public elementary school shall be made good by the Local Authority.' There also arose the question of paying for the heating, lighting and water-supply to the school, and the cleaning of the premises. The main difficulty seems to have arisen in deciding if the school premises were 'suitable' for the purposes of a public elementary school, unless the alterations and repairs insisted upon by the authority were carried out. Thus, in the area of the London County Council, it was several years before this question was settled to the satisfaction of the Council's officials. In other areas, the Minute Books of the Education Committees show that within a few weeks of the appointed day, the tenders were being invited for the decoration of the school premises, although there could be no question of the wear and tear having occurred during the short time the Authorities were responsible for the school premises. The Aston Education Committee, for example, invited tenders for maintenance work on the voluntary schools four months after the appointed day.(2) A few weeks later, tenders were accepted for carrying out work on three local Catholic schools at a cost of £134.(3) The same Education Committee agreed to bear 'the cost of coke, coal and water consumed in the voluntary schools' but the Managers would be responsible for paying for the gas used.(4)

In Sheffield, a survey of the buildings of the voluntary schools was carried out between the passing of the Act and the appointed day by the officials of the Council. The managers

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 26th. February, 1907. c.1435.

(2) Minutes of the Meeting of the Aston Education Committee, 26th. October, 1903.

(3) Ibid. 23rd. November, 1903.

(4) Ibid. 20th. May, 1904.

were then given details of the work which the Authority would expect to be carried out before the schools could be accepted as 'suitable for the purposes of an elementary school.' (1) The Sheffield Education Committee appointed a sub-committee to 'consider the question of the apportionment of the charges for cleaning, warming and lighting the voluntary schools.' This sub-committee obtained from the managers of the voluntary schools full details of the amounts of money spent in cleaning, lighting and warming the schools in the three years prior to the passing of the Act. When these had been examined, the Committee agreed to accept them and 'to recommend that payment be made to the Managers of the various schools ...to cover the proportions of the whole expenditure.....which are deemed to be chargeable in respect of the use of the buildings as a day school.' (2) The same proportions were used to decide the amounts of money which the Council would pay towards the decoration of the interior of the schools. However, when the Catholic school at Sheaf Gardens had to instal a new boiler in 1906, the Council would do no more than make a grant of £6 towards the £34 which the new boiler cost. (3) Although the Council were not strictly the employers of the teachers and caretakers in the voluntary schools, when the Workmen's Compensation Act came into force in 1908, the Council agreed to pay their contributions under the Act. (4)

The Minutes of the Meetings of the Liverpool Education Committee show that in Liverpool, voluntary school premises were placed in one of three categories if the Committee were not prepared to accept them as suitable as they were. Category A schools needed listed improvements, but such repairs were not held to be of immediate importance. Category B schools required repairs which were both important and urgent. Category C schools were judged to be unsuitable for use as public elementary schools, and the Authority declined to accept them. However, there were no Catholic schools in any of the three categories. (5) At a later meeting of the Education Committee, a letter from the Town Clerk was read suggesting that voluntary school managers should arrange

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Sheffield Education Committee, 15th. April, 1903.

(2) Ibid. 20th. July, 1903.

(3) Ibid. 15th. January, 1906. (i.e. after the return of the Liberal Government.)

(4) Ibid. 18th. July, 1907.

(5) Minutes of the Meeting of the Liverpool Education Committee, 14th. March, 1904.

to have the work at their schools carried out and the Council would refund a share of the cost, bearing in mind that 'some schools have not been re-decorated for many years.'(1)

An interesting legal point concerning the voluntary schools was raised by the Liverpool Authority. The Town Clerk gave his legal opinion that where a playground existed, its maintenance was a matter for the managers. But where no playground existed, or where a playground was inadequate, the Authority had no power to insist that the managers remedied the defect.(2) Liverpool differed from most other authorities in that a grant was made to the managers of the voluntary schools, based on the number of children in average attendance, to cover the Authority's share of the expense of heating, lighting, care-taking, window-cleaning and chimney-sweeping. The grant ranged from 4s. per child, per annum where the number of children was 300 or less to 2s. 6d. in schools where the average attendance was in excess of 1,000.(3) The Council's Auditor of Accounts would agree to this scheme only if the Managers were compelled to keep an account of the receipt and payment of all the monies received by them and 'to submit same, along with vouchers, to the Auditor at the Audit.'(4) In June, 1904, the Auditor told the Committee that the presence of several named Managers would be required at the Audit.(5) It would appear that the accounts of the voluntary schools in Liverpool were complicated by the decision of the Authority to continue to charge school fees after 1902, and such fees were payable to the Authority and not to the managers after the appointed day. The Managers of the Catholic schools fixed very low fees for their schools. For example, at St. Benedict's, fees were approved at 1d. per week for scholars in Standard Four and below, 2d, per week for scholars above Standard Four, but no family would have to pay more than sixpence

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Liverpool Education Committee, 27th. June, 1904.

(2) Ibid, 14th. September, 1903.

(3) Ibid. 12th. October, 1903.

(4) Ibid. 18th. April, 1904.

(5) Ibid. 27th. June, 1904.

per week for all the children attending the school.(1) St. Francis Xavier Select School had fees approved ranging from 5d. per week for the under-5s, 7d. per week for infants, and 9d. per week for the older scholars. If these fees were paid quarterly in advance, they were slightly reduced.(2)

It was in the London County Council area that the difficulties of the voluntary schools were greatest. In fact, it was not until February, 1908, that the Non-Provided Schools Sub-committee was able to report that the building problems had been settled. The London School Board had insisted on very high standards in its buildings, and the Council's Education Committee maintained the standards. Similar standards would have to be achieved in the buildings housing the voluntary schools before they would be accepted as suitable. The Council's staff made an inspection of every voluntary school in their area(3) and made detailed reports of the repairs to be carried out. This, of course, took a great deal of time, and there was always the possibility that the managers of a school would decide not to spend any money on the school and to close it. For this reason, every decision made about voluntary schools, particularly in such matters as the provision of furniture and stationery, was qualified by the following paragraph:

'This question is affected by that of the future position of the non-provided schools which are now being generally surveyed by the Inspectors, who will shortly report on their structural fitness and educational efficiency. When these reports are received, we are of opinion that, subject to the position of the Council being safeguarded with reference to any action that may be deemed necessary after inspection,...(4)

There were 441 voluntary schools in the L.C.C. area on the appointed day, which, in London was a year later than in the remainder of the country. By the time the Inspectors had completed their work, the number of voluntary schools had risen to 459. (5) Not surprisingly, there were many Catholic schools on the list of schools requiring extensive repairs. 12 of the 79 schools condemned outright were Catholic schools. St. Mary's, Hampstead,

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Liverpool Education Committee, 13th. July, 1903.

(2) Ibid. 10th. December, 1906.

(3) The L.C.C. area involved the two Catholic Archdioceses of Westminster and Southwark, each of which had its own Diocesan Association.

(4) The paragraph occurs in the minutes of every meeting of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. up to 1906.

(5) Some details are given in Table 13, p. 194.

was described as 'not only unsuitable for use as an elementary school...it is positively dangerous.'(1) The Catholic school of SS. Peter and Edward at Buckingham Gate was 'totally unsuitable for the purposes of elementary education...the premises consist of the basement under the church with no playground.'(2) The managers of St. Anne's Catholic school at Greenwich were told that 'the requirements would cost more than the state of the building warrants.'(3) A common recommendation of the Inspectors was that a school with two or three departments would, after the necessary alterations were made, be acceptable as a school of one department only. In February, 1905, six Catholic schools were reported as being in this category.(4)

The strictness of the building requirements added to the difficulties of the managers hoping to establish new schools. For example, the parish of Our Lady at Greenwich had opened its parish school 'in a large house at 111, Charlton Road, Greenwich.' The Inspectors were not satisfied with the premises, and also complained that there was insufficient time allowed for reading and arithmetic, and registration procedures were not correct.(5) The Inspectors were asked to visit the school again after the summer holidays, and in the meantime, the Education Committee instructed the Divisional Superintendent that 'he should not prosecute parents who are sending their children to the school regularly.'(6) However, when the Inspectors reported again in November, 1904, the Council informed the managers that the school would no longer be recognised as efficient.(7)

In contrast to the long-drawn-out procedure in London, a study of the minutes of the meetings of the Leeds Education Committee suggest that the state of the voluntary school buildings in Leeds presented little problem. There were eleven Catholic schools in Leeds and none are mentioned specifically in the discussions on buildings. Soon after the appointed day, the Committee reminded the managers of the voluntary schools that their Inspectors were authorised to visit and inspect the schools. Reports from H.M. Inspectors and the Committee's Inspectors were tabulated and the City Architect's Department asked to report on the defects.

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. 2nd. November, 1904.

(2) Ibid. 7th. December, 1904.

(3) Ibid. 1st. February, 1905.

(4) Ibid. 1st. February, 1905.

(5) Ibid. 8th. June, 1904.

(6) Ibid. 6th. July, 1904.

(7) Ibid. 30th. November, 1904.

At the Meeting on 29th. July, 1903,(1) the Committee agreed to inform the managers of the repairs required and the next reference to the matter was at the meeting in March, 1905, when it was reported that 'all the suggestions and recommendations which had been made to the Managers of the voluntary schools regarding repairs and improvements to their premises had been carried out.'

Similarly, in Birmingham there appears to have been very little difficulty in accepting the voluntary school buildings as suitable for elementary schools. By July, 1903, the Education Committee had agreed 'to bear the whole cost of the fuel and water consumed in the voluntary schools and of the triennial cleaning and painting of the interior of the buildings, on condition that the Managers pay for the gas consumed.'(2) The Committee also agreed to pay for the cleaning and caretaking in the voluntary schools at a rate of '1s. 6d. per place.' The Committee obviously did not pay too much attention to the condition of the schools when they took them over, since, in 1904, the Committee invited tenders 'for the internal colouring and painting' of 19 voluntary schools, five of which were Catholic schools.(3) Although relations between the Committee and the Catholic schools appear to have been good, the same could not be said about the managers of St. Chad's Catholic schools and the Board of Education. The managers were still trying to pay off a debt of £2,000 on St. Chad's Girls' School when the Board threatened to close the Boys' school unless certain repairs were made. The managers appealed to a local charity, the Poncia Trust, for aid, and received a gift of £500 which was immediately spent on the repairs to the Boys' school.(4) After inspecting the repairs, H.M. Inspectors reported that the buildings 'cannot be regarded as satisfactory for the purposes of a public elementary school.'(5) The managers solved the problem by spending £700 in converting the Girls' school to a Boys' school, and spent £8,242 in building a new school for the Girls' and Infants' Departments. Thus, by 1910, St. Chad's parish had a school debt of over £10,000. By 1912, there were 1,099 scholars in the schools, 187 of whom were non-Catholics.

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Leeds Education Committee, 29th. July, 1903.

(2) Minutes of the Meeting of the Birmingham Education Committee, 23rd. July, 1903.

(3) Ibid. 21st. November, 1904.

(4) Minutes of the Meeting of St. Chad's School 12th. October, 1905.

(5) Ibid. 19th. February, 1906.

Unlike most Authorities, the Birmingham Authority decided that, as it did not employ the teachers in the voluntary schools, although it paid their salaries, the managers would have to meet the cost of the contributions under the Employers' Liability Act.

Apparently, the Board of Education were concerned about the state of some school premises, both council and voluntary. By 1908 an official 'Black List' of school premises had been compiled.(1) L.A. Selby-Bigge, Secretary to the Board had asked all H.M. Inspectors to 'report on the school premises when making a formal inspection.' Significantly, he asked that the report should be prepared 'without communication with the Local Education Authority.'(2) The Black List provides a useful guide to the condition of Catholic school buildings in general. The list placed the schools in one of five classes:

1. Early closure agreed upon.
2. Unless repairs were carried out by a stated date, the Board would withdraw recognition.
3. Any further expenditure on the school premises would be waste of money.
4. The Board insisted on substantial improvements in the school premises over a period.
5. Unsatisfactory because more than one class was being taught in the same room. (3)

A summary of the statistics of schools on the Black List shows that there were 1,874 schools in England on the List. Of these, 104 or 5.6% were Catholic schools. In Wales, there were 158 schools on the List, and of these, seven or 4.4% were Catholic schools. 5.6% of the children attending schools on the Black list were attending Catholic schools.(4) Most of the Catholic schools on the Black List were in Class 5.(5) There were none in Class 1 or Class 2 and one in Class 3. Of eleven schools in Class 4 in the Salford area, the File notes that rebuilding plans had been approved for four of the schools, a new school for boys was under construction, and two schools for girls' and infants' departments were being modified.(6) The Board of Education's Annual

(1) P.R.O. File Ed.22/8 dated 11th. December, 1908.

(2) Ibid.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed. 22/10/433A.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/348 .

(5) Ibid.

(6) P.R.O. File Ed.24/348, dated 14th. July, 1910.

Report for 1908 - 09 commented of the period up to 1903 that 'less progress was made in areas controlled by school boards than in those mainly supplied by voluntary schools...This should be noted and remembered for it is the fashion of the opponents of the church schools to insinuate that the state has done everything for the schools and the churchmen have done ridiculously little.' (1) So far as the Catholic schools were concerned, in 1900, £81,000 had been given in voluntary contributions towards the maintenance of the schools. In the same year, board schools had received £600 in voluntary contributions. When the Act was implemented, the voluntary contributions would be used to refurbish the schools as an investment, the dividend on which would be the payment by the Local Authority of all the expenses such as teachers' salaries, books and apparatus, which, during the hard years, had given the board schools such an advantage over the voluntary schools. The figures for school building and school enlarging in the years after the passing of the 1902 Act, (2) suggest that the effort made by the Catholic community was greater than that of any of the other denominations.

It is against this background that the bitterness which erupted over the 1906 and 1908 Education bills should be seen. Having set their schools in order by carrying out, at considerable expense, the alterations and repairs to the school premises which the Local Authorities demanded before they were prepared to accept such premises as suitable, the voluntary schools were able to show that, given equality of resources, they were in every way the equal of the council schools. Then, no sooner had this been achieved than the Liberal Government's bills sought to deprive them of this equality on purely ideological grounds.

(1) Quoted in The School Guardian, 22nd. April, 1910.

(2) See Table 14 for details. (p.195) 74 new Catholic schools were built between 1905 and 1914, and 81 were enlarged. 33,000 additional places were provided.

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TABLE 13. VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS IN THE L.C.C. AREA, 1902 - 08.

The Report of the Non-Provided Schools Sub-Committee of the London County Council gave the following details in February, 1908.

Schools already closed or scheduled to be closed.	79
Schools where the County Council have decided that all requirements have been carried out to its satisfaction.	107
Schools where the Architect (Education) has reported that requirements have been carried out.	20
Schools where the Managers have reported that the requirements have been carried out.	76
Schools where the Architect (Education) or the Managers say the required work has been nearly completed.	97
Schools where the work is already in hand or to be commenced shortly or the matter is under consideration.	37
Schools already transferred to the County Council or where the question of transfer is under the consideration of the Buildings and Attendance Sub-Committees.	6
Schools where the County Council has granted an extension of time for the completion of the work required.	37
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>459 schools.</u>

Estimates of the amounts of money which had been spent on the non-provided (i.e. voluntary) schools were as follows:

Diocese of London.	£223,000.
Diocese of Southwark.	90,000
Roman Catholic Schools.	100,000

It was estimated that by the end of August, 1908, the voluntary school authorities would have spent £600,000 on their schools.

Speaking in the Debate on the 1908 Education Bill, Lord Edmund Talbot said that the Catholic community had spent £200,000 on their schools in London since 1902. (Parliamentary Debates, 25th. November, 1908. c. 498.)

TABLE 14. NEW SCHOOLS AND ENLARGED SCHOOLS, 1904 - 1914.

SOURCE: Annual Reports of the Board of Education for the Relevant Years.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>R.C.(%)</u>	<u>C.of E.(%)</u>
<u>NEW SCHOOLS.</u>	2,447	74 (3.02)	82 (3.35)
<u>ENLARGEMENTS.</u>	1,109	81 (7.3)	187 (16.9)

ADDITIONAL SCHOOL PLACES PROVIDED.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>R.C. (%)</u>	<u>C.of E. (%)</u>
<u>NEW SCHOOLS.</u>	982,431	21,074 (2.14)	11,108 (1.13)
<u>ENLARGEMENTS.</u>	194,665	12,350 (6.34)	18,495 (9.5)

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: ACCOMMODATION AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE, 1902 - 1911.

SOURCE: Cd. 6002. March, 1912.

<u>YEAR.</u>	<u>NO. OF SCHOOLS.</u>	<u>ACCOMMODATION.</u>	<u>AV. ATTENDANCE.</u>
1902	1,056	403,064	269,191
1903	1,058	404,752	276,316
1904	1,063	408,293	280,788
1905	1,070	412,669	284,746
1906	1,064	411,360	286,452
1907	1,061	406,137	285,244
1908	1,064	401,595	285,693
1909	1,066	402,667	290,049
1910	1,073	391,864	293,391
1911	1,074	376,426	295,802.
	<u>1.7% increase.</u>	<u>6.6% decrease.</u>	<u>9.8% increase.</u>

Over the same period, the average attendance in the Church of England schools fell by 9.21%, from 1,927,663 to 1,750,094. The average attendance in the council schools rose by 33.5%, from 2,369,980 to 3,164,591.

THE 1902 ACT AND THE TEACHING STAFFS IN VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.

When the 1902 Act became law, there was no national scale of salaries for teachers.(1) Salaries paid to teachers in the Catholic elementary schools were well below salaries paid in the other elementary schools, whether board or voluntary. For example, in the year ending 31st. March, 1900, the average salary of a male certificated teacher in a Catholic school was £122 p.a. whereas a similar teacher in a board school would receive £160.(2) With the implementation of the 1902 Act, the usual practice was for the teachers in the voluntary schools to receive the same salary as teachers with similar qualifications who were serving in the council schools. Thus, where an authority operated a salary scale based on the number of years of service which a teacher had given, service in the voluntary school was reckoned as if it had been given in the service of the authority. Aston Manor Education Committee ruled that 'all teachers in voluntary schools be placed on the same salary scale as teachers in council schools, and ... the salary be increased accordingly from 1st. October, 1903.(3) Sheffield Education Committee were a little more generous. In October, 1903, the Committee decided that the salaries of teachers in voluntary schools 'now being paid below the minimum of the Committee's scale,' would be brought up to the minimum and made retrospective to 1st. April, 1903(4) The Authorities at Liverpool (5) and Birmingham (6) adopted similar policies. The Bristol Education Committee decided to pay the increased salaries only to those teachers whose managers recommended that the increase be paid.'Where the managers' report was unfavourable, the Committee's Inspectors were sent to make an investigation...It is satisfactory to note that, out of 600 voluntary school teachers employed in the city, the Education Committee had to decline an increase in five cases only.(7)

As usual, there were problems in the area of the London County Council. As already explained (8) the L.C.C. would not

(1) The Burnham Committee's national salary scales came into force in 1921.

(2) See Diagram 9, p.199.

(3) Minutes of the Meeting of Aston Education Committee, 6th. Oct.1903

(4) Minutes of the Meeting of Sheffield Education Committee, 26 Oct.1903

(5) Ibid. Liverpool Education Committee, 11th. November, 1903.

(6) Ibid. Birmingham Education Committee, 26th. June, 1903.

(7) Annual Report of the Bristol Education Committee, 31st. March, 1904, p. 21.

(8) Supra. p.189.

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implement any of the provisions of the Act until the question of the suitability of the voluntary schools' buildings had been cleared up. So far as the teachers' salaries were concerned, the L.C.C. would go no further than to pay the existing salaries to all the teachers in the voluntary schools. The only exception to this rule was that where a school replaced an uncertificated teacher with a certificated teacher, the increased salary would be paid. The usual method of paying teachers' salaries seems to have been that an official of the Authority called at each school towards the end of each month and paid the salaries in cash.(1)

One serious difficulty which did occur was the responsibility of the managers of the voluntary schools rather than of the Authorities. The Act became law at the end of December, 1902, and the 'appointed day' i.e. the day on which the provisions of the Act came into force, was 1st. June, 1903.(2) There were several cases in which teachers in voluntary schools received large salary increases between December, 1902 and the appointed day, the assumption being that, after that day, the Local Authority would be paying the salary. At Sheffield, for example, the Education Committee 'gave very careful consideration to the large number of cases in which the salaries of teachers in voluntary schools have recently been raised beyond the scale for payment to teachers in council schools,'(3) and decided that the teachers would receive no further increments until 'they are entitled by length of service or higher qualifications to further increments according to the scale.' A similar ruling was applied in Liverpool.(4) The L.C.C. found it necessary to ask its Staffing Committee to look into 'cases in which the Managers appear to have granted certain head and assistant teachers in non-provided schools, exceptional increases in 1903 or prior to the appointed day in 1904.(5) When the Staffing Committee reported, the L.C.C. reduced the salaries of five teachers in voluntary schools, one of whom was employed in a Catholic school. The Leeds Education Committee resolved 'that the Managers of the voluntary schools be asked to state the date and the amount of the last increase in their teachers' salaries.'(6) But even this was not entirely successful in

(1) Log Books, St. Peter's School, Cardiff, 3rd. November, 1904, Park Place Catholic School, Bristol, 28th. April, 1903.

(2) In London, the appointed day was 1st. June, 1904.

(3) Minutes of the Meeting of the Sheffield Education Committee, 20th. May, 1903.

(4) Ibid. Liverpool Education Committee, 11th. November, 1903.

(5) Ibid. Education Committee of the L.C.C. 17th. November, 1904.

(6) Ibid. Leeds Education Committee, 29th. July, 1903

clearing up the matter. At a later meeting of the Committee it was resolved 'that the attention of the managers of certain voluntary schools be called in certain cases to differences between the returns of salaries paid to their teachers and the payments shown in the previous year's balance sheet.'(1)

Difficulties also arose in cases where a teacher's salary was augmented by the use of a rent-free house. Local Authorities would pay only the cash portion of the salary and leave the question of rent for the house to be settled by the managers and the teacher privately. The Managers of St. Joseph's Catholic School in Chelsea complained to the L.C.C. that 'the master of the school had received a salary of £90 and a house rent-free. As the Council would only be responsible for the master's salary, the rent of £60 p.a. was more than the master could afford to pay and he had left the house.'(2) The salaries of the teachers in the non-provided schools 'can only be paid at the fixed amount.' At Leeds, the Committee decided that a salary would be paid to a teacher or caretaker occupying a house belonging to the managers, and 'leave the occupants to make their own arrangements with the managers on the terms of the occupancy.'(3)

BOOKS, APPARATUS AND FURNITURE IN VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS AFTER 1902.

The usual procedure for supplying books and apparatus to voluntary schools seems to have been that a list of approved books was sent to the school, with details of the amount of money which could be spent, based on the number of children in attendance. In London, for example, the amount of money varied from 1s.8d. for each infant to 5s. 6d. for each scholar in the higher standards. But, because of the delay in settling the question of the acceptability of the school premises referred to earlier, the L.C.C. reminded managers that 'all books, apparatus and needlework material are, and will remain, the property of the Council; they will be recalled should the school not be maintained by the Council; they will also be subject to any action which the Council may deem necessary after the reports on the inspection of the non-provided schools have been considered.'(4) Some difficulties

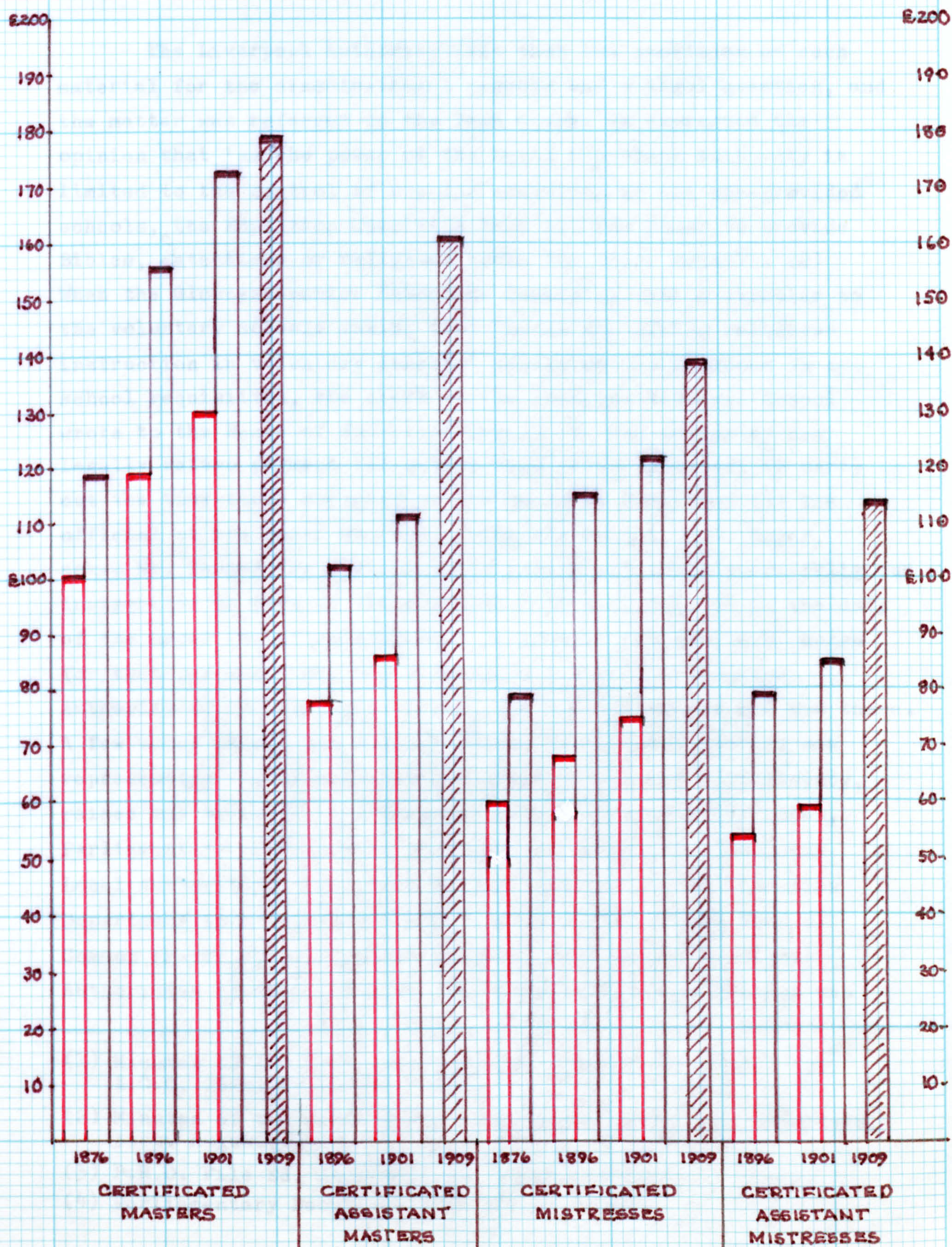
(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Leeds Education Committee, 20th. December, 1903.

(2) Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. 29th. June, 1904.

(3) Ibid. Leeds Education Committee, 20th. December, 1903.

(4) Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. 29th. June, 1904.

DIAGRAM 9 . TEACHERS' SALARIES IN BOARD SCHOOLS AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS 1876-1909 (WHEN THE 1902 ACT WAS IMPLEMENTED, SALARIES WERE EQUAL IN COUNCIL AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS AND WERE PAID BY THE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY).
 PRE 1902: FIGURES FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN RED.
 FIGURES FOR BOARD SCHOOLS IN BLACK
 POST 1902: FIGURES SHADED.
 SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, 1876, 1896, AND OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1901, 1909.



did arise on the question of the provision of books for the denominational teaching in voluntary schools. The L.C.C. solved this problem by informing the managers that they could order any books which were on the requisition lists and were at that time being supplied to the Council's schools. Three Catholic schools and two Jewish schools had ordered books which were not on that list, and so could not be supplied. The books ordered were catechisms, simple prayer books and the Singer's Prayer Book in Hebrew and English.(1)

The Liverpool Authority felt that the provision of such material for the denominational schools was a legal question, and the matter was referred to the Town Clerk. He expressed the opinion that 'as the power of the Local Education Authority is limited to the control of secular education in the non-provided schools, the Education Committee have not the power to provide Bibles, catechisms or religious books for these schools.'(2) When the Gloucestershire Education Committee sent a circular to the voluntary schools asking that 'books for giving religious instruction in voluntary schools' should not be included in the school requisition, the clerk at the Frenchay National School wrote to the Board of Education asking if 'the Authority can legally refuse payment for school requisites necessary to carry out the time-table approved by the Board of Education.(3) The official at the Board who dealt with the letter, R.G. Mayor, asked Mr. Thring for a ruling. His ruling was that 'where religious instruction is part of the curriculum of a school, it is the duty of the Local Education Authority to provide the necessary books for that purpose.' Mr. Mayor informed the Gloucestershire Authority of Mr. Thring's ruling. But the matter did not end there. A few weeks later, Sir Charles Dilke, the Liberal Member, now representing the Gloucestershire (Forest of Dean) constituency, raised the matter in the Commons. He asked Sir William Anson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, 'How many Local Authorities have acted on any circular of the Education Department that they are bound to find copies of the Book of Common Prayer for the Church schools, and whether any Local Authorities have objected to the circular?'(4) Sir William was

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. 26th. September, 1904.

(2) Minutes of the Meeting of the Liverpool Education Committee, 31st. August, 1903.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/1907, 7th. August, 1903.

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 13th. August, 1903.

able to give an assurance that no such circular had ever been sent out by the Board. 'No question of the supply of Prayer Books has arisen, except in the case of certain schools in Gloucestershire...the Gloucestershire Education Committee has sent a circular to the voluntary schools on this subject...the Board, having been appealed to by the managers of the schools, communicated with the Authority as follows...(i.e. Mr. Mayor's letter)(1) On the next day, Lloyd George raised the matter again. His comment was that 'this interpretation put upon the new Act, that County Councils were bound to provide Prayer Books and Catechisms, was one which no-one had even contemplated at the time of the passing of the Act.'(2)

The Dorset County Council raised the question of the voluntary schools which had income from charitable trusts for the express purpose of providing religious books in the schools. But the Board refused to be drawn on the matter. The letter to the Dorset County Council advised them to make application to the appropriate Department on the question of the income from the charitable trusts. In the meantime, it was the duty of the Council to provide the books.(3)

The question of providing religious books came up again in correspondence between the Board and the East Riding of Yorkshire County Council.(4) A scholar in the National School at Dunnington had died from scarlet fever, and, in the interests of hygiene, all the school books were destroyed. The managers had themselves replaced the copies of the Book of Common Prayer, but asked that the Council should provide the replacement Bibles as Bibles were provided in the council schools for the Cowper-Temple teaching. The Council refused, and in spite of a letter from the Board, persisted in refusing. The correspondence dragged on from November, 1903 until February, 1904, and seems to have ceased without any decision having been reached.

One other question arose on the matter of books, not necessarily religious books, in the voluntary schools. The Act had stated that the Local Authority would be entitled to the use of the books already in use in the schools on the appointed

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 13th. August, 1903.

(2) Ibid. 14th. August, 1903.

(3) P.R.O. File Ed.24/1907, dated 7th. August, 1903.

(4) P.R.O. File Ed.24/1907, 03/24689, dated 25th. November, 1903. The last letter on the subject is dated 25th. February, 1904.

day. Difficulties arose when managers asked for payment for books which they had purchased but had not been brought into use by the appointed day. (It will be remembered that almost six months elapsed between the passing of the Act and the appointed day.) The Town Clerk of Liverpool gave it as his opinion that if 'some portion of the stock purchased by the managers was not in use on the appointed day, there would appear to be no reason why the Committee should not recommend some payment for that portion of the stock, if they see fit to do so.' (1) However, when the managers of the Aspen Grove Church of England school asked for £10 15s. as the cost of books paid for by the managers but not used before the appointed day, the request was refused. (2)

Although the terms of the Act placed on the Authority a duty to 'maintain and keep efficient' all the schools in its area, council and voluntary, the Authority was under no obligation to 'create' efficient voluntary schools. That was the task of the managers. The question of school furniture was one which came between the question of the provision of books and apparatus by the Authority and the provision of the premises by the managers. There was no difficulty about the provision of furniture for new voluntary schools or for new classrooms in enlarged schools. When the Liverpool Authority received an application from the managers of the Sacred Heart Catholic school for furniture for some newly-erected classrooms, the Town Clerk decided that, so long as the managers of a voluntary school carried out their obligations under the relevant sections of the Act relating to the provision of the school and keeping it in good order, 'the duty of providing the new or additional furniture that may be required in the non-provided school is thrown upon the Local Education Authority.' (3) At subsequent meetings of the Education Committee, tenders were accepted for the provision of furniture in three non-provided schools, two of which were Catholic schools. New desks for St. Oswald's School cost £317, and for the Sacred Heart School, £18 3s. 4d. (4) The London County Council, in providing furniture for the voluntary schools reminded managers that the furniture would be removed if they failed to meet the required building standards. In November, 1904, the L.C.C. provided furniture for 116 voluntary schools, 32 of them Catholic schools. 103 requests were refused, 18 of these being from Catholic schools. (5)

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Liverpool Education Committee, 14th. September, 1903.

(2) Ibid. 18th. April, 1904.

(3) Ibid. 14th. September, 1903.

(4) Ibid. 28th. September, 1903

(5) Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. 23rd. November, 1904.

Some of the requests were unreasonable. St. Stephen's request for a new piano and the Oratory School's request for three new desks were refused, the items being classed as unnecessary. The request for a teacher's desk from the school of Our Lady of the Sacred heart was refused because there appeared to be no room for the desk in the school.(1) The Leeds Authority had a far more lenient attitude towards the voluntary schools. Furniture was provided in every case in which the Authority's officials decided it was needed. In December, 1903, a tender for £237 for the supply of new furniture at St. Anne's Catholic school was accepted.(2) A similar attitude was adopted by the Birmingham Authority, except for the proviso that any furniture damaged out of school hours would not be repaired by the Authority.

After 1905, there was a change in the official attitude. The change affected not only the supply of new furniture, but also the legal ownership of furniture supplied by the Authorities since 1902. When a new Catholic school was built at Keyham Barton, in the area of the Devonport Local Authority, the Authority informed the managers that they, and not the Authority, would be responsible for providing the furniture for the new school. The ruling was confirmed by the Board when the secretary of the Local Authority at King's Norton asked if the ruling would apply in the case of the new voluntary school (undenominational) which Mr. Cadbury was providing at Bourneville. But in March, 1906, Robert Morant wrote an 'unofficial' letter to the King's Norton Authority, assuring the Authority that 'no surcharge will be imposed if your Authority decide to provide the furniture.'(3)

The issue of the ownership of furniture came up again in Parliament when the terms of the McKenna Bill were being debated. McKenna said that if the furniture in a contracted-out school was the property of the Local Authority, they would be entitled to remove it. He refused to give any undertaking that a clause would be inserted in the bill which would give the voluntary schools the right to keep the furniture.(4)

(1) Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. 23rd. November, 1904.

(2) Minutes of the Meetings of the Leeds Education Committee, 1st. October, 1903; 21st. December, 1903.

(3) For a full account of the Keyham Barton case see Oldmeadow, E: Francis, Cardinal Bourne, London. 1940. Vol. 1, pp. 287-292, and The Tablet, 19th. January, 1907. p. 113. The Tablet described Mr. Cadbury as 'a millionaire.'

(4) Parliamentary Debates, 12th. March, 1908, c. 1760 - 1.

Monsignor Brown, the Vicar-General of the Southwark Diocese had also raised the question of the ownership of the timber and glass partitions which the L.C.C. had provided in some Catholic schools in 1905 - 06. (1)

However, the last word on the subject came from the Law Lords. Two of the new Catholic schools opened in Liverpool in 1909 had their furniture provided by the Local Authority. The Local Government Auditor disallowed the cost, and the Authority appealed to the Courts, ending up with an appeal to the House of Lords. By a majority decision, the Lords decided that the Auditor was not entitled to disallow the costs and his ruling was reversed.(2)

(1) P.R.O. File Ed. 24/152. 26th. November, 1908.

(2) The Times Law Report, 30th. March, 1912.

CONCLUSION.

The long-drawn-out debate on the 1902 Education Bill served to emphasise how far the question of the voluntary schools' future had degenerated into a political rather than an educational issue. Of course, there had been strong feelings on the issue for many years between Conservatives and Liberals. But the increasing importance of a Home Rule for Ireland Bill as a bargaining counter in the debate brought a new dimension to the issue. Fundamentally, there was no connection between the Bill to aid the voluntary schools and the Bill to give Home Rule to Ireland. One did not automatically rule out the other. It simply happened that the Liberal Party, favourably inclined to the question of a Home Rule Bill, would not tolerate any further allocation of public funds to schools which were not under public control, as they understood it.

The Irish Members, almost all Catholics, wanted both assistance for the voluntary schools and Home Rule for Ireland. If this was not possible, and clearly, it was not, which of the two issues should have priority? The Irishmen, in their anxiety to keep on reasonable terms with both sides in the debate, ended up being distrusted by both sides. With the benefit of hindsight, it would seem that if there was to be real and lasting progress in the national education system, any legislation would have to put board schools and voluntary schools on the same financial footing so far as maintenance was concerned. The 1902 Act, which the Liberals regarded as a blatant sectarian measure, made possible only by the Conservative majority in the Commons, provided the only type of settlement which could do this. The fact that after eighty years of education legislation, the financial settlement remains unchanged in principle if not in exact detail, suggests that the settlement was fundamentally a just one.

Unfortunately, this was not how the Liberals saw it in 1905. The attacks on the settlement, the refusal of some Local Authorities to implement the Act, the years of passive resistance, distraints, even the imprisonment of 'rate-rebels' all show how fiercely passions raged over the settlement. The supporters of the voluntary schools had every reason to fear the backlash which came after the Liberal victory in the 1905 election.